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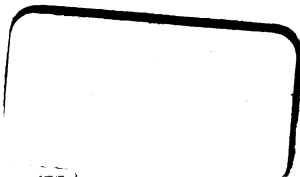


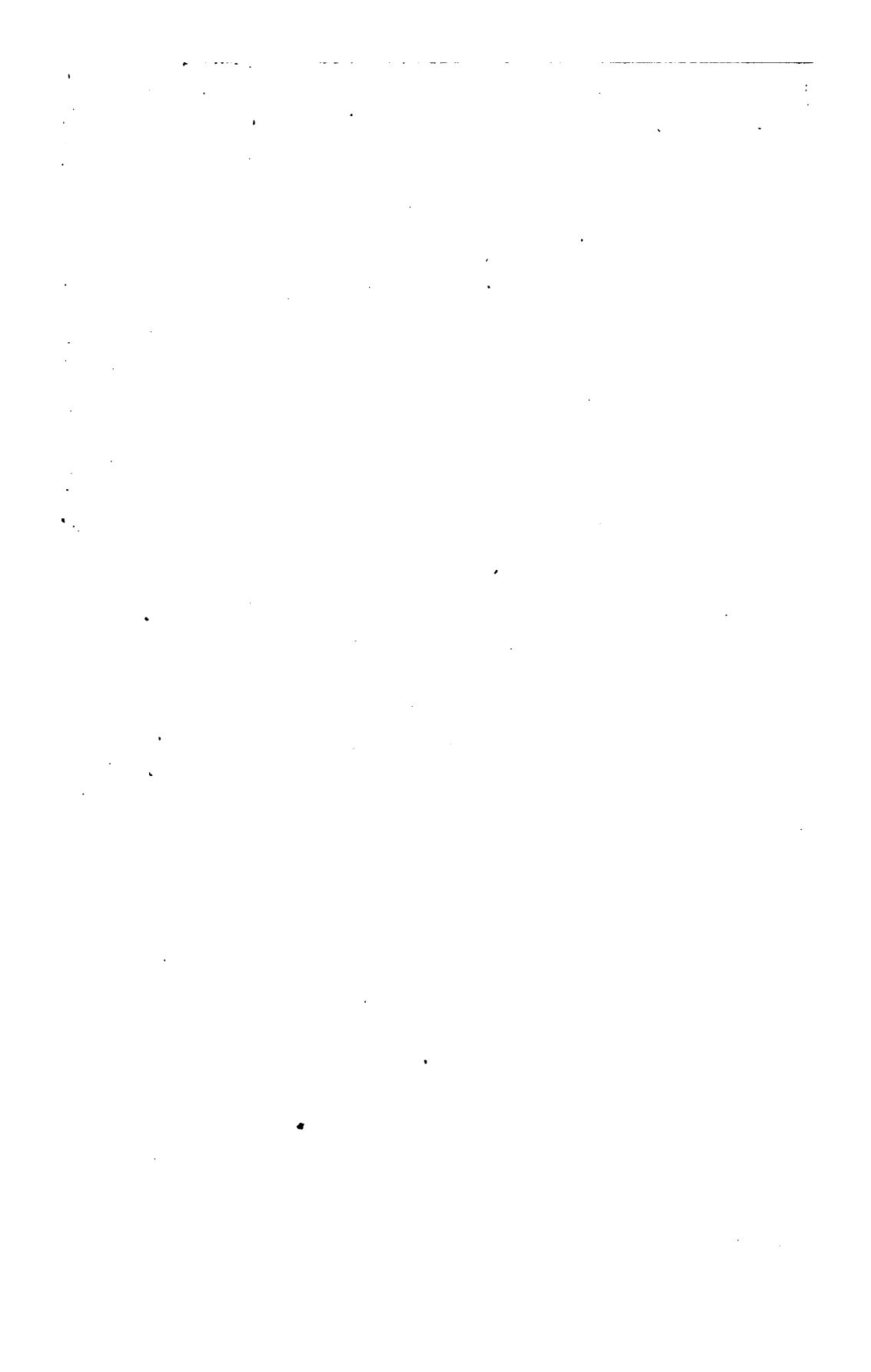
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TENTH UNIVERSAL PEACE
CONGRESS,

HELD IN THE
ST. ANDREW'S HALL, GLASGOW,
FROM 10TH TO 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1901.

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CIRCULARS OF INVITATION.

AUX SOCIÉTÉS DE LA PAIX.

BERNE, le 1^{er} Juin, 1901.

Chers Collègues,

Le IX^e Congrès a décidé que le X^e aura lieu à Glasgow, en suite de l'invitation qui lui a été faite par l'Association internationale pour le développement des sciences, de l'art et de l'éducation.

Le Bureau ayant été chargé d'en fixer la date, la Commission, après discussion, a décidé que le X^e Congrès universel de la Paix s'ouvrira à Glasgow (et non à La Haye comme nous l'avons annoncé par erreur), le mardi 10 septembre 1901. L'après-midi de ce jour d'ouverture sera réservé aux travaux des Commissions, et, éventuellement, à l'Assemblée générale du Bureau.

Nous vous proposons de porter les questions suivantes à l'ordre du jour de ce Congrès :

- 1^o Rapport sur les événements de l'année.
- 2^o Rapport de la sous-commission juridique sur ses travaux. (Code international, traités d'arbitrage permanent, voies d'exécution des sentences arbitrales, etc.)
- 3^o Exposé des travaux du Comité d'étude sur la motion de M. Frédéric Bajer relative à une alliance des neutres pour la paciférance.
- 4^o Initiatives à prendre en vue de la conclusion de traités d'arbitrage obligatoire entre Etats.
- 5^o Projet de M. Kemény relatif à une organisation scientifique internationale.
- 6^o Propositions de M. Hodgson Pratt pour modifier le Règlement des Congrès en ce qui concerne le mode de

nomination des délégués et la représentation des Sociétés, proportionnelle au nombre de leurs membres.

7^o Appel aux nations.

8^o Siège et date du XI^e Congrès.

Cet ordre du jour est destiné à être modifié et complété *par les Sociétés de la Paix* avant d'être arrêté définitivement.

Nous vous prions donc, chers collègues, de nous indiquer, d'ici au 1^{er} juillet prochain, les questions que vous désireriez, cas échéant, voir introduire dans ce projet et qui n'auraient pas fait déjà l'objet des délibérations d'un Congrès de la Paix.

Les propositions émanant d'une Société de la Paix seront coordonnées et un nouveau projet de programme sera soumis à la Commission du Bureau assez tôt pour que les Sociétés et les amis de la Paix soient en possession de l'ordre du jour définitif au moins quatre semaines avant l'ouverture du Congrès.

Veuillez agréer, chers collègues, nos cordiales salutations.

Pour le Bureau international de la Paix :

ELIE DUCOMMUN,
Secrétaire honoraire.

TO SOCIETIES.

47, NEW BROAD STREET,
LONDON, E.C.,

August 2nd, 1901.

Dear Sir or Madam,

We have pleasure in sending herewith the Programme and Particulars of the Tenth Universal Peace Congress, which will be held in Glasgow, from the 10th to the 13th September next, and cordially invite your Association to take part in its proceedings. Will you kindly forward to us the names and addresses of your Delegates with as little delay as possible? The Rules of the Congresses sent herewith will give you all the information necessary for this purpose.

We have endeavoured to obtain special fares from the Railway Companies, but, seeing that they have already announced the issue of tourist tickets at reduced rates in connection with the Exhibition, we have been unable to obtain further concessions.

We have also made enquiries in regard to hotels and lodgings, which we will do our best to procure for those who may desire us to do so, and will instruct us as to their requirements.

The Local Offices of the Congress Committee will be at 150, Hope Street, Glasgow, and also, from the morning of the 9th September, at the Berkeley Hall entrance, St Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, where Delegates are requested kindly to report themselves on their arrival.

We are,

Yours sincerely,

W. EVANS DARBY, } *Hon.*
J. FREDK. GREEN, } *Secretaries.*

COMMITTEE OF ORGANIZATION.

At the instance of the Executives of the Peace Society and the International Arbitration and Peace Association, whose Secretaries were appointed by them to organize the Tenth Universal Peace Congress, the following circular was issued :—

47, NEW BROAD STREET,
LONDON, E.C.,

May 6th, 1901.

Dear Sir or Madam,

A meeting of the Peace Societies, and others interested in the Tenth Universal Peace Congress, will be held at the Peace Society's Offices, 47, New Broad St., E.C., on Tuesday, the 14th of May, at 4 p.m., with a view of forming a Committee to superintend the arrangements of the Universal Peace Congress at Glasgow, to be held in September next (7th-13th).

We cordially invite you to be present.

We are,

Yours sincerely,

W. EVANS DARBY.

J. FREDK. GREEN.

The Committee formed at this meeting consisted of the following, *viz.* :—

Chairman : Felix Moscheles.

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Members : Mrs. C. A. Bracey-Wight; Miss M. L. Cooke; Miss M. A. Mills; and Miss Phipson; the Rev. H. W. Perris; Messrs. A. Bonner, Herbert Burrows, Henry W. Crow, J. Anson Farrer, Francis W. Fox, Maurice Gregory, John Hayward, J. Foster Howe, H. Sefton Jones, C. E. Maurice, T. P. Newman, Robert Scott, George Singer, and W. Martin Wood.

Tenth Universal Peace Congress.

GLASGOW, 1901.

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PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS.

A.—CURRENT EVENTS.

1. Report of the International Bureau on the events of the year relating to the Peace Movement. (This Report will be read at the Opening Sitting of the Congress, and remitted to Commission A for examination.)
2. The action of Missionaries and its dangers.

Proposition brought before the Congress of 1900 by Commission A, not discussed for want of time, and adopted by M. Gaston Moch for submission to the Tenth Congress :

Considering that even if every man has the right to endeavour to induce his fellowmen to share his convictions, he who undertakes such a task must expect opposition arising from the force of preconceived ideas, and sometimes from men's ignorance, and that he must expect this resistance to be particularly active when, as in the case of the missionaries, he undertakes to inculcate in races belonging to civilisations very different from his own, ideas and convictions in absolute opposition to theirs ;

Considering that the missionaries face these dangers with a perfect knowledge of all that is involved, and that they ought to consider the opportunity of suffering for their faith as among the most glorious of their rewards ;

Considering that even though homage may be rendered to the courage and sincerity of these men, who sacrifice their comfort and sometimes their life for the triumph of their faith, it can nevertheless not be admitted that the propaganda of their religious ideas should have even as its indirect consequence the exposure of their country to the evils of war, and the endangering of the tranquillity, and the life of thousands of their compatriots who do not perhaps share their convictions, and who, in any case, are not disposed to make the same sacrifices ;

Considering that even if the civilised nations are under obligation to protect such of their subjects as may reside in a foreign land, it is only that they themselves abstain from offending the prejudices, or attacking the convictions of the peoples whose hospitality they receive;

Considering that it is the duty of missionaries to abstain in the exercise of their ministry from all intemperate zeal, and on the contrary to exercise the tact, prudence, and moderation which would be suggested to them both by the precepts of their religion and the care for their personal interest, the Congress is of opinion

That the Powers shall rigorously abstain from all armed intervention intended to protect, succour or avenge the missionaries of their nationality who have voluntarily exposed themselves to the hostility or the resentment of peoples of an absolutely different civilisation.

3. Diplomatic protection accorded, in non-Christian countries, to the Christian subjects of those countries.

Proposition presented to the Congress of 1900 by the Commission on Actualities, not discussed for want of time, and adopted by M. Gaston Moch for submission to the Tenth Congress :—

Considering that in certain countries, and notably in the Far East, the subjects of the non-Christian Powers who join one of the Christian Churches take advantage thereof to claim the position of diplomatic protection from one of the nations holding the Christian Faith, and thus to escape the authority of their own Government;

Considering that the Christian nations cannot admit these claims without injuring the sovereign rights which even non-Christian Powers have incontestably over their own subjects, of whatever religion they may be, and without, as a consequence, exposing themselves to the danger of exciting the legitimate susceptibilities of these Powers;

Considering, moreover, that the protection of these converts is a source of innumerable embarrassments for the Christian nations, that it is one of the most frequent causes of conflicts between these nations and the non-Christian Powers, and that it constitutes a permanent danger for peace;

The Congress is of opinion that the Christian nations should strictly abstain from claiming, or even admitting, their diplomatic protection of the subjects of the non-Christian Powers who may have joined either of the Christian Churches.

B.—INTERNATIONAL LAW.

4. Report of the Juridical Sub-Committee on its labours (International Code, Permanent Arbitration Treaties, Means of executing Arbitral Awards, etc.)
5. Initiatives to be taken in view of the conclusion of the Obligatory Arbitration Treaties between States.

Here will come in the question of a Permanent Arbitration Treaty to be concluded between France and Great Britain, raised by Mr. Thomas Barclay, ex-President of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris.

The Committee of the International Bureau, which met at Berne on the 18th May, 1901, adopted, on the question of Arbitration Treaties, the following Resolutions:—

I. The International Peace Bureau expresses its best wishes for the success of the steps decided on by various English and French Peace Societies in view of realising the idea, brought forward by Mr. Barclay in a recent speech, of urging the *conclusion of a permanent arbitration treaty between France and Great Britain.*

II. The International Peace Bureau, associating itself with lively satisfaction with the thought which has inspired the decisions of the International Congress of Commerce and Industry which met in Paris in 1900, requests the Chambers of Commerce of all countries to vote resolutions energetically demanding the conclusion of Permanent Arbitration Treaties between Peoples.

III. Considering that Article 19 of the Hague Convention for the Peaceful Regulation of International Conflicts provides for the conclusion "either before the ratification of this Convention, or afterwards, of new Agreements, general or particular, with the object of extending obligatory Arbitration to all cases which they judge capable of being submitted to it";

Considering the resolution of the International Peace Congress, which met at Paris in 1900, which was thus expressed:

"The Congress hopes that in the near future when the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague is constituted, the Powers will have concluded among themselves the greatest possible number of Permanent Arbitration Treaties, and that by the multiplication of such Treaties, Arbitration will become the

normal and obligatory juridical method of settling international disputes”;

The Committee of the International Peace Bureau (in which sixteen nations are represented), meeting at Berne, 18th May, 1901, the anniversary of the Inauguration of the Hague Conference, Learns with satisfaction of the definitive constitution of the Permanent Arbitration Court; Expresses regret that, in spite of the provisions of the Hague Convention, no permanent arbitration treaty has been concluded before the ratification of this Convention;

And, considering as very urgent the conclusion of permanent arbitration treaties, addresses a pressing appeal to all the friends of Peace that, in each nation, they should exercise such individual or collective action as would be most efficacious in promoting the conclusion of such treaties, viz.:—As regards their respective Governments;—as regards Members of Parliaments, and also all candidates for elective offices, so as to obtain their actual or eventual help; as regards all political bodies or committees, so as to induce them to make the negotiation of permanent arbitration treaties a definite article in their programme.

6. Study, by the Congress, of the most suitable method of organising a simultaneous and convergent action of the Interparliamentary Council and Peace Societies, with the object of causing States to conclude with one another Permanent Arbitration Treaties.

(Proposal of Mr. A. Jounet, in the name of the Universal Alliance.)

7. Insertion of an Arbitration Clause in all Treaties of Commerce.

(Proposal of the Geneva Section of the Swiss Peace Society.)

8. Report of the labours of the Committee of Study on the motion of Mr. Fredrik Bajer relative to an alliance of the Neutral States for the preservation of Peace.

9. Proposal remitted to the Tenth Congress by the Ninth:—

“1. The Congress reaffirms its sympathy with all efforts that may be made in favour of Free Trade.

“2. The Congress expresses the hope that the *régime* of Free Trade may also be adopted with regard to the Colonies, considering that Protection is one of the principal causes of disputes and even of wars among nations.”

C.—PROPAGANDA.

10. Union of all the Societies, either by the intermediary of the Berne Bureau, or by various methods of direct communication.

(Proposal of Mr. Felix Moscheles, Chairman of the International Arbitration and Peace Association.)

11. Means of rendering the peace propaganda more efficacious.
(Proposal of Mr. Jacques Novicow.)

12. Necessity for the Peace Societies of each country to combine themselves into one Society, of which they would become the provincial sections, in such a way as to facilitate Propaganda, to make their efforts more efficacious by localising them, and to facilitate the common action of all the friends of Peace in each country.

(Proposal of the Section Sénonaise of the French Peace Society.)

13. Necessity for an enquiry into the economic causes of wars. Co-operation considered as a factor in International Peace.

The Society "La Paix par le Droit," of Nîmes (France), proposes :

"(a) The appointment of a standing Committee of Enquiry, like that on International Law, which should every year bring into prominence one of the economic or social aspects of the international problem ;

"(b) A Resolution inviting the friends of Peace to favour co-operation in their respective countries by all the means in their power."

14. Consideration of the Teaching of Christ in regard to War.
(Proposal of the Society of Friends, England.)

15. Prizes to be distributed to students and pupils for compositions in favour of Peace.

(Proposal of the Society of Friends, supported by the Peace Union and the Liverpool and Birkenhead Women's Peace and Arbitration Society.)

"The Congress recommends, in the interest of Peace by means of education, that prizes be offered to the children and young people in the public schools and colleges and in private schools, for compositions dealing with the Peace Question or any other subject whose direct or indirect aim is the creation of just and friendly relations among different races and nations. This recommendation is particularly made to those teachers who are free to arrange their curriculum; if such is not the case, the prizes may be offered for essays written during other than school hours.

"History, extracted from Manuals chosen with much care; comparative descriptions of the manners and customs of the different peoples, edited in a large and liberal spirit; accounts of journeys made in this same spirit; novels such as 'Lay Down Your Arms,' which depict in bold relief the evils of war; all these writings may be utilised for young boys and girls able to understand them, whilst for children of a lower age use can be made of oral explanations and lectures with lantern slides."

16. Plan of Mr. F. Kemény, relating to an international scientific organisation :—

"The Congress approves the proposal and the plan of an international universal Academy, and appoints for this end a special committee, which, in agreement with the analogous committees of the other Congresses, will charge itself with the deep study of the subject and of the steps to be taken in view of its realisation."

17. Communication relating to the existence of an International Committee for the study of an *auxiliary international language* and nomination of a delegate officially representing the whole Peace Party on this Committee.

Proposal of the Society "La Paix par la Droit" :

"The Tenth Peace Congress is specially invited to pronounce on the commercial and scientific usefulness of an international language, auxiliary to the living languages, as it results from the excellent work of Mr. Couturat and the important report of General Sebert at the Academy of Sciences."

18. Annual International Fête to celebrate the 18th May :

(a) Recommendation of the Committee of the International Peace Bureau, which does not exclude the manifestations of the 22nd February.

(b) Proposal of M. Gaston Moch :

"In future, the 18th May, the anniversary of the Opening of the Hague Conference, shall be celebrated by the Peace Societies, with the title of 'International Fête.'"

"The Societies will endeavour on this occasion to organise, according to circumstances, all kinds of manifestations (such as banquets, conferences, spectacles, meetings, processions, Peace flags, etc.) compatible with the laws of their respective countries, and suitable for attracting general attention to this historic date, for inspiring the peoples with the firm desire of a policy of justice and peace, and finally to induce the nations to celebrate every 18th May as an 'International Fête' which would be added to their respective national festivals.

"With a view of preventing a diffusion of energy, the Societies bind themselves to transfer to this date of the 18th May the resources and the efforts which they may hitherto have devoted to the manifestations of the 22nd February."

19. Adoption of a Rallying-sign in the form of an International Peace Flag.

(a) Proposal of the Geneva Section of the Swiss Peace Society.

(b) Proposal of M. Gaston Moch :

"The Peace Societies are recommended to hoist, in circumstances when it is considered useful to display flags, an International Peace Flag, one quarter of which (situated along and at the top of the staff) shall be composed of the national colours, the other three-quarters forming a white ground."

D.—CONGRESS.

20. Proposals of Mr. Hodgson Pratt to modify the Rules of the Congress so far as concerns the manner of appointing Delegates and the representation of the Societies, proportional to the number of their members.

21. Place and Date of the Eleventh Congress.

22. Appeal to the nations.

On behalf of the Committee of the International
Peace Bureau,

ELIE DUCOMMUN, *Hon. Sec.*

BERNE : the 27th July, 1901.

REGULATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS.

I. COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESSES.

1. The Universal Peace Congresses are composed of:—

- (a) Delegates of Peace Societies ;
- (b) Delegates of public Institutions or constituted Authorities that have informed the International Peace Bureau of their desire to support the work of the Congresses ;
- (c) Delegates of Societies that do not make the cause of Peace their main object, but have given in their adhesion to the International Peace Bureau, by communicating their Statutes to it at least six weeks in advance ;
- (d) Members of Peace Societies not acting as Delegates, but desiring to take part in the Congress.

2. Any Peace Society, and any public Institution, or constituted Authority, has the right of being represented at the Peace Congresses by one Delegate with the power of voting, if notice be given to the Organising Committee before the opening of the Congress.

3. In addition, any Peace Society has a right to one vote for every hundred members, certified by the Secretary in writing, up to ten votes, every fraction of 100 members counting as 100.

4. The contribution of each Society to the expenses of the Congress shall be 10 francs (8s.) for the first Delegate, and 5 francs (4s.) for each additional Delegate.

5. Any individual member of a Peace Society may become a member of the Congress, with the right of taking part in the discussions, but not of voting. The Organising Committee may demand a fee from such member. Such fee must not exceed 5 francs (4s.).

Societies that do not make the cause of Peace their main object (Art. 1, c) are also admitted with the right of voting, but such Society has only a right to one vote.

6. No Society has a right to more than ten votes.

7. The public shall be admitted to the Congresses as far as possible, but without the right of taking part in the discussions.

8. The verification of credentials shall be made before the opening of the Congress. Every authorised Delegate shall receive a card of admission ; the colour of the card will indicate the number of votes to which the Delegate is entitled.

II. PRESIDENCY AND BUREAU.

9. Immediately after the opening speeches, the Congress shall appoint its President and as many Vice-Presidents as there are nationalities represented at the Congress. It shall also appoint its General Secretary. The President, Vice-Presidents, and General Secretary constitute the Bureau, which shall decide any questions of order which the President may consider he has not the power to decide himself.

III. SECRETARIAT.

10. The duties of the Secretariat for deliberations (General Secretariat) and those of the Secretariat of the local Organising Committee are distinct.
11. The duties of the General Secretariat are:—
- (a) To prepare the documents, etc., to be placed before the pre-consultative Commissions;
 - (b) To receive, and arrange for the translation, printing, and distribution of the proposals of those Commissions;
 - (c) To prepare and post up in the meeting-place of the Congress, before each sitting, the order of the day in three languages;
 - (d) To indicate on a black-board, during the sitting, the question under discussion;
 - (e) To submit to the President of the Congress, before and during the sitting, documents, and any other information useful for the conduct of these deliberations;
 - (f) To prepare a *résumé* in French of the resolutions adopted, in the form of a very succinct report, which may be at the disposal of members and journalists in the office of the Secretariat, as soon as it has been approved by the President;
 - (g) To provide for the oral translation of the speeches, and for the written translation of proposals and amendments;
 - (h) To edit, and have printed, the Report of the proceedings of the Congress in the accustomed form;
 - (i) To afford members of the Congress any information they may require as to the progress of the proceedings.
12. The duties of the Secretariat of the Organising Committee are:—
- (a) To prepare the list of members of the Congress, delegates, and adherents;
 - (b) To receive the entrance fees;
 - (c) To supply members of the Congress with their cards of membership, badges, and invitations;
 - d) To provide for the introduction of members in the hall of meeting;

- (e) To provide for the sale and distribution of publications other than those distributed in the Congress Hall with reference to the pending discussion.

IV. PROGRAMME AND PRECONSULTATIVE COMMISSIONS.

13. The Committee of the International Peace Bureau will submit to the Societies a draft programme, and invite them to complete it, within a stated time, by propositions they desire to have discussed by the Congress.
14. The answers received shall be classified by the Bureau, which shall send a summary of them to the Societies, in order that they may give instructions to their delegates on all the questions that may be submitted to the Congress.
15. The final programme adopted by the Committee of the International Peace Bureau shall serve as the basis for discussion.
16. The programme shall be divided into two or three groups of propositions. Each of these groups shall be referred to a preconsultative Commission.
17. Each of the preconsultative Commissions of the Congress shall be composed of from five to seven members, chosen by the Bureau of the Congress from those who have signified in writing at the beginning of the opening sitting their willingness to serve, or who are known to be willing to serve.
18. The preconsultative Commissions may, for the purpose of obtaining information, consult anyone whom they may think fit, Delegate, adherent, or a non-member of the Congress.
19. Speeches, properly so called, will be reserved for the full sittings of the Congress, the business of the Commissions being to examine, revise, and co-ordinate the propositions sent in by the Peace Societies and appearing on the definitive programme, or to prepare fresh resolutions on the questions submitted to them.
20. Every proposal for the revision of a previous resolution, in order to be submitted to the Congress, should be presented in the ordinary form of other proposals. On the report of the corresponding preconsultative Commission the Congress will first decide whether there is any reason for placing this revision on the programme.
21. The Congress may also decide that a new question, not appearing on the programme, may be discussed, if the proposal is brought forward by the corresponding preconsultative Commission.
22. Each of the Commissions will do its work after the opening sitting on the first day, and, if necessary, on the morning of the second day, in such a manner that its conclusions, printed in three

languages, may be in the hands of the members of the Congress at latest by the opening of the sitting at which its report and conclusions are to be discussed.

23. The report of the International Bureau on the events of the year will be read at the end of the opening sitting of the Congress, and referred to a special Commission, which will present its report and written conclusions at the following sitting, devoted to questions of actuality.
24. The last sitting of the Congress will be devoted exclusively to the adoption of the text of the Appeal to the Nations, and to deciding the place and date of the next Congress.

V. DELIBERATIONS.

25. No speaker, other than the reporters, may speak on any one subject for more than ten minutes, and, except by the express authority of the meeting, no one may speak more than once on the same subject, save by way of personal explanation.
26. Discussion on points of order shall interrupt the discussion on the main question.
27. The President shall take care that speakers do not wander from the question under discussion.
28. The meeting may, by a majority of votes, closure debates.
29. Resolutions shall be adopted by a bare majority of votes.
30. Amendments shall be put to the vote before the motions to which they refer.
31. In any doubtful case, the rules of the deliberative bodies of the country appointed in advance by the Bureau of the Congress shall be applied.

VI. TRANSLATIONS.

32. Before the Congress, each Society should have the documents forwarded to it by the Berne Bureau, translated at its own expense.
It cannot demand their translation in the course of the sittings of the Congress.
33. Societies speaking the same language may be assisted by a translator for the other documents, and for the discussion.
34. A summary of any paper or report that may be read to the Congress should be previously deposited with the Bureau, translated into at least one language, which shall be one of those appointed by the Provisional Committee. It is to the interest of societies to present summaries in several languages; these summaries will be placed at the disposal of those delegates who desire them.

35. Every resolution and amendment should be deposited with the Bureau of the Congress, after having been translated into at least one of the languages which have been appointed by the Provisional Committee.
36. A translator shall be attached to the Bureau of the Congress; he shall see that the regulations are observed.
37. The reports of the sittings shall be prepared in French.
38. Speakers may address the Congress in French, German, English, Italian, or the language of the country in which the Congress is held. Speeches not made in French shall be summarised in that language. Translations into any other language will be made only if demanded.

ELIE DUCOMMUN,
Honorary Secretary of the International Peace Bureau.

BERNE, 1st July, 1897.

THE TENTH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS, 1901.

Preliminary Meetings.

OPENING CONVERSAZIONE.

SATURDAY, 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1901, IN THE ST. ANDREW'S
HALL (BERKELEY HALL), GLASGOW.

UNDER the auspices of the West of Scotland Peace and Arbitration Society (affiliated with the Peace Society), a conversazione took place in the Berkeley Hall of the St. Andrew's Hall, on Saturday, September 7th, at which the delegates, mainly from England and America, who had come to Glasgow to attend the Tenth Universal Peace Congress, and other Peace Meetings in Glasgow, were introduced to each other and to the local members and friends. Ex-Provost James Clark, Paisley, President of the Society, occupied the chair, and at the conclusion of the social function welcomed the delegates, prefacing his remarks by a sympathetic reference to the assassination of President M'Kinley. Dr. R. H. Thomas, Baltimore, and Dr. Benjamin Trueblood responded to the welcome, and both acknowledged the expressions of sympathy, pointing out that the tragic incident was in keeping with the war spirit. Both speakers, however, were optimistic as to the eventual triumph of Peace. Dr. W. Evans Darby, who took part in the addresses of welcome, also referred to the assassination, and asked if it was to be wondered at that when a nation, as a nation,

appealed to brute force, despairing men did the same. A resolution was forwarded to Mrs. M'Kinley and the family, expressing sympathy with them under the distressing circumstances in which they were placed.

PEACE CONGRESS SUNDAY.

8TH SEPTEMBER.

The following day was observed in many churches as Peace Congress Sunday, in response to a letter which had been sent by the Peace Society to all ministers and their churches in Scotland, numbering about 5,500, inviting them to make special reference to the subject of International Peace in their services and prayers. A great many responded, and a list of churches in Glasgow and neighbourhood, where this would be done, was published in the local press.

SERMON BY DR. HUNTER.

In the evening, the Rev. Dr. John Hunter, in Trinity Congregational Church, preached to a crowded congregation in connection with the Peace Congress. The text selected was Isaiah ii. 4, "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The sermon was a masterly exposition of the Christian principles of Peace, and its delivery evoked frequent applause from the audience. It will be published as a tract by the Peace Society, and may be obtained at the office of the Congress, 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

REUNION IN LONDON.

On the afternoon of Sunday, September 8th, Mr. Felix Moscheles, Chairman of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, and a Member of the Executive of the Peace Society, received at his house, 80, Elm Park Road, Chelsea, those delegates who were in London on their way to the Congress, together with a number of guests who were invited to meet them.

M. FRÉDÉRIC PASSY, who was present, thanked Mr. and Mrs. Moscheles, for their generous hospitality, and eloquently sketched the objects and activities of the Peace Societies. M. Moscheles replied by warmly thanking his visitors, and expressing the hope that the Congress in Glasgow would be a great success. This sentiment was endorsed by several others who addressed the Meeting.

CONFERENCE OF THE CHURCHES.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH.

MORNING.

Intimately, though not officially, connected with the Congress was the "Conference of the Churches," called by the Religious Society of Friends, which was held in St. Andrew's (Berkeley) Hall on Monday, September 9th. There was a good attendance.

The proceedings began at half-past nine o'clock a.m., by a meeting for devotion. The Morning Conference began at ten o'clock under the presidency of Mr. Joshua Rowntree, Scarborough. After the "Opening Address" by the Chairman, Miss Frances Thompson, Liverpool, read a paper on "Old Testament Teaching" in regard to Peace. This was followed by a paper on the same subject, written by Mr. W. C. Braithwaite, Banbury, and read on his behalf. The discussion was opened by Mr. J. G. Alexander, Tunbridge Wells, and sustained by Mr. Samuel J. Capper, M. Olaus Kellermann (Cette, France), Miss Ellen Robinson, Rev. W. J. Spriggs-Smith, Miss P. H. Peckover, Mr. Thomas Wright, and Rev. M. Bruce Meikleham (Glasgow). At the close of this discussion Mr. J. G. Alexander read a paper on "The Retributive Aspect of War," after which the Conference adjourned.

AFTERNOON.

At half-past two the sitting of the Conference was resumed, under the presidency of Dr. Robert Spence Watson, Newcastle-on-Tyne. After the Chairman's Address Mr. J. H. Midgley,

B.Sc., J.P., of Grange-over-Sands, read a paper on "New Testament Teaching on War." This was followed up by an Address on the same subject by Dr. R. H. Thomas, Baltimore, U.S.A. In the subsequent discussion the Rev. Walter Walsh, Dundee, and the Rev. M. Bruce Meikleham (Glasgow) took part, and Dr. R. H. Thomas replied. Papers were afterwards read by the Rev. M. J. Elliott (Boulogne-sur-Mer) on "War and Christian Missions," and Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood (Boston, U.S.A.) on "The Golden Rule in International Affairs"; and also one prepared by Professor Dr. J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge, on "The Early Christians and War."

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EVENING.—PUBLIC MEETING.

In the evening at eight o'clock a public meeting was held in the Great Hall, St. Andrew's Hall, which was presided over by the Hon. the Lord Provost (Mr. Samuel Chisholm, LL.D.), who was supported on the platform by the Right Rev. Bishop Harrison; Rev. Canon Barker, M.A.; Rev. Dr. Mackennal, Bowdon; Rev. Dr. W. Evans Darby, London; Dr. Benjamin Trueblood, Boston, U.S.A.; Rev. Dr. Fergus Ferguson; Ex-Provost Clark, Paisley; Mr. John Wilson, ex-M.P.; Rev. Dr. John Hunter; Rev. Dr. Stalker; Miss Ellen Robinson, Liverpool; Miss Priscilla Peckover, Wisbech; Rev. M. J. Elliott, Southport; Mr. Robert Bird; Mr. W. J. Begg; Mr. J. G. Alexander, Tunbridge Wells; Mr. Walter Walsh, Dundee, etc.

The Rev. Dr. Hunter offered prayer, after which the Lord Provost delivered an Address, which was greatly appreciated by the audience. Addresses were also delivered by the Rev. Canon Barker, M.A., London; the Rev. Alexander Mackennal, D.D., Bowdon, Manchester; Miss Ellen Robinson, Liverpool; Professor Silvanus P. Thompson, D.Sc., F.R.S., London; and Dr. B. F. Trueblood. The Rev. James Stalker, D.D., Glasgow, and Mr. Joshua Rowntree, Scarborough, also took part in the proceedings.

OPENING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 10TH, 1901, AT 11 O'CLOCK.

The first session of the Tenth Universal Peace Congress took place in St. Andrew's (Berkeley) Hall, Glasgow, on the morning of Tuesday, September 10th. Over 180 delegates, representing societies in the leading countries of the Western world, had then reported themselves. The Lord Provost (Dr. Samuel Chisholm) had promised (on the 24th May last) to open the proceedings at eleven o'clock, but after some delay Dr. W. Evans Darby had to explain that his lordship was still unaccountably absent. It afterwards transpired that he had been delayed over the presentation of the freedom of the city to Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Mr. Andrew Carnegie. Dr. Darby suggested that the formal business should be proceeded with, and moved that Dr. Spence Watson should be asked to take the chair. This was agreed to, Dr. Watson being received with hearty applause.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS.

Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES, as Chairman of the Organising Committee, announced that, owing to urgent business in connection with the purchase of the Jura-Simplon Railway, of which he is Secretary, M. Elie Ducommun, Secretary of the Permanent Bureau, was unfortunately unable to leave Switzerland, and that he had nominated M. Emile Arnaud and Dr. Bovet to represent him and the Bureau at the Congress. He formally proposed the Lord Provost of Glasgow as Hon. President, Dr. Spence Watson and Sir Joseph Pease,



ROBERT SPENCE WATSON, ESQ., LL.D.,
President of the Congress.

Bart, M.P., as Presidents, and MM. Arnaud and Bovet General Secretaries of the Congress. This was agreed to.

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS.

Letters and telegrams, regretting inability to be present and expressing good wishes, were read from a number of persons, including the Baron and Baroness von Suttner (Austria), M. Elie Ducommun (Berne), M. Kemény (Secretary of the Hungarian Peace Society), M. Lucien Le Foyer (Paris), Signor Moneta (Milan), Dr. Max Kolben (Vienna), Senator Henri La Fontaine (Brussels), Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Mr. Walter Crane, and others.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Dr. SPENCE WATSON said : You will all be with me when I say that no one could more heartily regret the absence of the Lord Provost at the present time than I do. But no Lord Provost and no other man could more earnestly welcome the gathering of this Congress. It is the first assembly of the kind I have been permitted to attend, and I have looked forward to it with keen expectation. It is indeed a delight to meet so many persons from so many parts of the world, who have been working for the cause of Peace in such an admirable way—that cause which some of us may almost call the passion of our lives. To those of us who live in this country the present time is, perhaps, as dark a time as we have ever known. (Hear, hear.) It is not for me to speak of that terrible war in South Africa, which we cannot think of without humiliation; nor need I allude to the swooping down of the Christian nations on China—the most detestable bit of greed that history records. (Applause.) We have seen one after another of our fondest hopes shattered. We have seen things which we thought were settled—the position which our people had assumed with regard to nationalities, with regard to the treatment of the weak nations, with regard even to slavery itself—rudely thrown on one side : and many a time it has seemed to us as though we were living in darkness which could be felt. But, travelling up from the North of Scotland to this Congress, it was my lot four days ago to

spend a day upon the mainland, looking across to the grand island of Skye. All day long, dark and heavy storm-clouds hung over it, but in the evening, wandering forth among the lonely hills, the blessed sun shone forth, and at eventime there was light ; and at the moment it seems to me as if this was typical of our present position. The cause for which we have been fighting is no failure. (Applause.) We are not really under clouds which will not be pierced. Some of us can look back to the Crimean War ; some of us took a very humble part in what seems in the recollection a slight agitation against that war ; and now, looking back, we see that that slight agitation has triumphed, for the men who were most bitterly opposed to the Peace party in those days now admit that the Peace party were right, and they were in the wrong ; and assuredly the day will come when those who ridicule and despise us now will admit that as to this war we have also been in the right. It is well for us to try and gather together the gleams of light at a time like this. We have another, perhaps the strongest, ground for encouragement, that is the Peace Conference at The Hague. We are told that The Hague Conference was a failure. On the contrary, the mere fact that it was held was a triumph. (Cheers.) The results have been much greater, even at the present moment, than the evil prophets predicted before the Conference was held. A great step in advance has been taken. The Hague Conference was the most glorious event of the nineteenth century. It remains for the civilised peoples to decide whether it shall not be an abiding victory, and I have faith ultimately in the peoples of the world. (Applause.) When the war fever sweeps over a nation it loses its head ; it is no use arguing with it ; it will not listen to reason ; but, depend upon it, materialism and brute force are not the ideals to which the peoples of this world will ultimately bow. (Applause.) There is a humanity which embraces us all, which binds us together, which makes the nations members one of another, because we have the same Father. There is a Brotherhood of Man which follows from the Fatherhood of God, and which, with daily, wider knowledge, becomes more and more gifted with the fruit of brotherly love ; and when

we once as peoples thoroughly understand each other, when the demand comes—as I feel persuaded it will come—for universal and permanent Arbitration between countries—(Applause)—when the Arbitration Court shadowed forth at The Hague becomes an absolute and active fact—and I may say, I speak of Arbitration with some knowledge, because, to compare small things with great, in more than eighty Arbitrations between masters and workmen I have been sole arbitrator or umpire, and never had an award disputed—then our children's children will have cause to bless the work of their fathers. Their fathers have sown with tears that which they will reap in joy, for the certain consequence of permanent Arbitration will be universal Peace among the nations of the earth. (Applause.) The Chairman subsequently added that there was one thing they should not forget, that where during the Crimean War they had one man with them, to-day they had a hundred. (Applause.)

REPORTS OF NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES.

Dr. ADOLPH RICHTER (Pforzheim, Germany) said: I am charged by my German countrymen to give our hearty thanks for the cordial reception we have received from our English friends, and especially for the kind and eloquent words with which our President has given us such a friendly welcome. The Peace Movement in Germany is rather a new one, not counting more than nine years. It is also rather a difficult one, because Germany is a military land, where everybody has to be enrolled in the army, and where, also, in consequence of the victorious wars we had to go through, not many years ago, the military spirit has permeated a good deal of the population. But, in spite of that, we neither despair nor lose our courage, seeing that, nevertheless, our Peace ideas are spreading gradually over the whole country, and that the number of our members has grown at present to more than 8,000. The Peace movement in your country, being much older than ours, may be our teacher, and seeing that our English Peace friends have always remained firm and steadfast in doing their duty, notwithstanding the


greatest obstacles and difficulties, we will follow their example by doing our best for the propagation of Peace ideas, which will, it is our conviction, bring happiness and moral progress to the whole world in future times. (Cheers.) When at Paris last year we accepted the invitation to Glasgow we believed that the South African War would be finished by this time. I assure you, however, that my fellow-countrymen would be overjoyed if convenient terms could be found as soon as possible to stop the war. Let us work together indefatigably with all our forces, that what we do in these days of the Congress may contribute to this end. So I am charged by the German Peace Society to bring you their best wishes for the success of your endeavours, and for the fulfilment of your wishes and your hopes. Let me finish with our motto—"War against war!" (Applause.)

Miss S. BAJER (Copenhagen) brought warmest wishes for the success of the Congress from the friends of Peace in Denmark, and from her father, M. Frederik Bajer, who was unable to attend. Denmark, she said, belonged to the small nations—the greater cause, therefore, did they feel for working in the cause of Peace. In olden times, no doubt, the Danes thought it good fun to come over to the coasts of Scotland and England and ravage and kill; but they were no longer wild barbarians, and many of her countrymen hoped that that Congress would help to pull down the walls of the temple of the war-god and let in the sunshine of amity and progress. (Applause.)

His Excellency DON ARTURO DE MARCOARTU (Spain) thought that though there were some things to discourage there was also much to give them hope. It seemed to him that the majority of the inhabitants of the globe were in favour of Peace. The Church was interested in the cause of Peace; women had done, and could do, a great deal against war; and the greatest interest of the mass of working men was Peace. Last year they had had an important Congress in Madrid, consisting of representatives of all the peoples speaking the Spanish tongue,—seventeen States; and it declared unanimously in favour of obligatory Arbitration. He wished success to the Congress.

Mr. MOSCHELES read a telegram from the Baroness von Suttner, expressing her great regret not to be present, and inviting the Congress to meet in Vienna in 1903.

Dr. B. F. TRUEBLOOD (Boston, U.S.A.), said: It gives me great pleasure to be with you again. We from America appreciate your warm greeting, because, in rather a special sense, we feel as if we belong to the same international family as you. I rise to bring greetings from the friends of Peace in America, and to express the great hopefulness and courage with which they are labouring. Never has there been a time, since the organisation of the Peace movement in 1815, when the cause has been so strong, so deep, and so widespread as it is to-day. (Cheers.) I never came to a Peace Congress with so much courage and hope as to this. Since we were at Paris last year it was announced from The Hague by the Dutch Foreign Minister—about five months ago—that the International Tribunal was definitely established and ready for business. I am not one of those who believe that that tribunal is gradually perishing, and is going to come to nought. (Hear, hear.) I believe there is no reason for discouragement on the part of anybody in that matter. I believe that what Baron d'Estournelles has said to the effect that the Permanent Court was suffering a lingering death did not at all represent the case. Rather, it is having a lingering birth. When the Supreme Court of the United States was established in our country, it was many years before the thirteen States which originally founded it were willing to submit any case to it. After several years a case was submitted, and then another, and by-and-by it became the Supreme Court in fact as well as in name. The Government of the United States is absolutely committed to The Hague Tribunal, and proposes to use its whole influence to bring it as speedily as possible into operation. (Applause.) You will be interested to know that since the last International Peace Congress the movement in our country has made certain, specific and definite progress. We have held our annual Peace Conference at Lake Mohonk, attended by nearly two hundred eminent men and women of our country; and this Conference threw the whole weight of its influence in the direction of inducing our Government



to bring cases as soon as possible before The Hague Court. This Conference sent a deputation to lay its conclusions before the President. There has also been summoned another Inter-American Conference, which is to meet in Mexico on October 22nd, and perhaps to sit throughout the winter—a repetition of the Conference of Washington twelve years ago. One of the express purposes of this Conference was to provide a general system of Arbitration for the nineteen independent American States, all of which now are likely to be represented. The friends of Peace in my country are devoting themselves to this one particular object of inducing the nineteen American Republics to conclude a treaty of Arbitration by which they pledge themselves to submit all their disputes to The Hague Court. By this we secure two things. We secure the admission of the seventeen States who were not signatories of the Convention to representation in The Hague Court. I have never found out why they were not invited to the Conference. If that is done, we shall have brought practically the whole civilised world into The Hague Tribunal. (Hear, hear.) Our American Peace friends think the next thing is to secure treaties of Arbitration by which they shall obligate themselves to bring into operation The Hague Tribunal, and not to turn back on our steps. Our people are committed to this course. We don't believe we should admit The Hague Court to be in any sense a failure—(hear, hear)—notwithstanding our decline and sad mistake in the Philippines. Our Government—especially our Secretary of State, Mr. Hay—are committed heart and soul to this policy, and our people, the rank and file, are in intense sympathy with The Hague Court. I never felt so much encouraged about our cause. I do not expect war to end at once. We are not fit for the millennium yet—(laughter)—but we are progressing. There never was a time when so many people, in so many countries, were individually and unitedly opposed to all war and to every phase of war; and the number is increasing among statesmen, among women, among workingmen. Everywhere this sentiment is solidifying, and no one to-day need hang his head and be afraid of accounting himself a friend of Peace. Let us be encouraged to go on with

more hope, more faith! The Peace movement has made progress that would have been thought impossible once. If anyone had said a hundred years ago that a century would see a Permanent International Court set up, he would have been thought the wildest and absurdest of dreamers. If we make the same progress in the twentieth century, it cannot but end in the universal and everlasting triumph of our cause. (Loud cheers.)

Mme. WASZKLEWICZ VAN SCHILFGAARDE (The Hague, Holland) said: I did not want to come to this country at this time because of the Transvaal War, but ultimately a sense of duty prevailed, and I am here to protest against war in general, and that in particular. The latter question has too much taken possession of me for me to speak of it in moderate terms. Therefore I will simply convey the greetings of the Dutch friends of Peace, and their expressions of sympathy with the English friends of Peace, and especially to those Englishmen whose great courage has been an example to us all. (Applause.)

Signor COISSON delivered the greetings of the Societies of Turin, Torre Pellice, and other Italian centres; expressed the sympathy, respect, and admiration which Young Italy felt toward those who were old in the cause of Peace; and spoke of the spread of the movement in Italy after the Rome Congress.

M. FRÉDÉRIC PASSY (Paris) said that he was glad to see many there whom they had welcomed in Paris during the Exhibition last year, and who must have found on that occasion reason to believe that the majority of the people of France recognise that progress is best manifested by showing respect for the independence and the institutions of other countries. In France, not only had the number of individuals and of societies in the Peace movement been increased during the past year; but a very significant fact was that on February 22nd last, when a "Peace Day" banquet was held, the four official representatives of the French Government in The Hague Tribunal were present, and the chief French delegate, M. Bourgeois, took the chair. He hoped that in future the Governments would be more inclined to lead the

Peace movement, instead of timidly following. Another interesting fact was that at the last French Radical and Radical-Socialist Congress a most emphatic peace resolution was adopted. On all sides they met with sympathy. The attitude of the Government toward the schools and teachers of France was much improved. Formerly the primary schools of France were schools of jingoism and military glory; now circular after circular had been issued by the Government to teachers, pointing out that the highest form of patriotism and civic duty was to understand and to show respect to the institutions of other countries and to claim liberty for themselves by respecting the claim for liberty in others. (Loud cheers.) A few years ago a teacher who taught these ideas would have been marked and his career compromised; now he was encouraged. Thus the Peace idea was spreading, the world programme of their movement was being achieved, and, obstacles notwithstanding, the day was coming when the wish of his old friend Cobden would be realised, and the nations, instead of exchanging bullets, would exchange bales of goods and merchandise. (Applause.)

M. J. Novicow (Odessa, Russia) said there was no real antagonism between Russia and England, though it was the tradition to describe them as natural adversaries. Their antagonism existed only in fancy and in political intrigue, and really was not based on fact. All the differences were the result of fantasies or intrigues. In Russia, for reasons too painful to enumerate, no Peace society had been constituted, but they might rest assured that the Russians were the most pacific people in the world. (Hear, hear.) If that were not so for moral, it would be for material reasons. Russia was the poorest country in the world, and where men were poor they were anxious to find peaceful means of subsistence, and took no part in political enterprises involving war. (Applause.) He saluted the town of Glasgow; it was most appropriate that the Peace Congress should meet there, where Watt initiated and rendered possible the application of steam to transport and travel, and so immensely facilitated the intercourse of nations. Glasgow has thus done much indirectly for the unification of the world, and he hoped it

would go on to benefit it directly by the organisation of Peace societies. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. BOVET (Berne, Switzerland) expressed regret that Switzerland was not represented there by M. Ducommun. In Switzerland all are friends of Peace. (Hear, hear.) The Swiss also are a pacific people by necessity, by taste, by education; they associate with the idea of Peace a very sincere love of country, and see no antagonism between the two, but a natural union. They have succeeded in federating twenty-five small States, respecting the patriotism of each, and not interfering with local rights and customs; and thus the ideal of a larger nationality, a more widespread patriotism had naturally arisen. Just as the Cantons of the Confederation were welded into one constitutional, harmonious whole, representing all that was worthy in the national instinct, so the great States of Europe might be federated and a higher patriotism brought forth—the patriotism of humanity. (Applause.)

Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES (London) said he hardly liked being asked to speak for England lest he should be set down as a Little Englander. (Laughter.) He was thoroughly devoted to the International Tribunal at The Hague, and a thorough believer in its value. He had lately met several of the envoys to the Peace Conference—especially Baron de Staal, Mr. Andrew D. White, and Mr. Holls—and had been very much encouraged to find that their convictions in favour of the Peace idea were as deep as his own. All these great Statesmen believed in the instrument they had helped to create, and they looked for the help of the Peace societies. (Applause.)

REPORT ON THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

M. EMILE ARNAUD read the report of the Berne Bureau on the events of the year, and this was referred to Commission A—the Commission on Actualities.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS AND COMMISSIONS.

While this was being done, the national groups met in a corner of the Hall to nominate their Vice-Presidents and their representatives on the pre-Consultative Commissions. Mr. Moscheles was appointed Vice-President for Great Britain

and Mr. Edwin D. Mead for the United States. The following were also designated : For Germany, Dr. Adolph Richter ; for Denmark, Miss Sigrun Bajer ; for Spain, His Excellency Señor Don Arturo de Marcoartu ; for France, M. Frédéric Passy ; for Italy, Signor Coisson ; for Norway, Mr. Armistead ; for Holland, Mme. Waszkiewicz ; for Persia, M. Arakélian ; for Russia, M. J. Novicow ; and for Switzerland, Dr. G. Bovet.

The following Commissions were also appointed :—

A. (Actualities)—Mrs. Mead, MM. Arakélian, Novicow, Bovet, Pichot, Tripier, Dr. Richter, and T. P. Newman ;

B. (International Law)—MM. Arnaud, Passy, Miss P. H. Peckover, Professor Quidde, Dr. Trueblood, Mr. J. G. Alexander, M. Aubry, and Mlle. Bajer.

C. (Propaganda)—Dr. Höltzel, MM. Gaston Moch, Ruyssen, Prudhommeaux, Coisson, Dr. R. H. Thomas, and Mr. G. H. Perris.

The Congress then adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BERNE BUREAU.

The Annual General Meeting of the International Peace Bureau was held in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on Tuesday, September 10th, 1901, at 5 p.m., under the Presidency of Mr. Frédéric Passy.

Twenty-six societies were represented. The meeting unanimously adopted the Report of the Bureau and the accounts for the year which had been audited by M. Louis Perrin and the Baron von Suttner ; and also resolved to send to M. Elie Ducommun, the Honorary Secretary, detained at home by urgent business, an expression of thanks and gratitude for his services.

The estimated Budget for 1901-2 was also approved of.

The twenty-five members of the Committee were reappointed and the name of Professor Quidde, of Munich, was added. They are as follows:—M. Frédéric Bajer, the Baroness von Suttner, M. Elie Ducommun, M. Henri Morel, Dr. Ludwig Stein, Miss E. Robinson, Mrs. Belva Lockwood, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, M. Frédéric Passy, M. Emile Arnaud, M. Henri La

Fontaine, Dr. Adolf Richter, Signor Moneta, M. Nicola Fleva, Señor Magalhaes Lima, Dr. B. F. Trueblood, Count Bothmer, M. Horst, M. E. Wavrinsky, M. Gaston Moch, Dr. Baart de la Faille, Dr. W. Evans Darby, Dr. E. Giretti, M. F. Kemény, M. Jacques Novicow, and Professor Quidde.

The auditors were re-elected, viz., Baron von Suttner (Vienna), and M. Louis Perrin (Berne).

MUNICIPAL RECEPTION.

In the evening the Corporation held a reception in the Marble Halls of the Municipal Buildings, in honour of the visit of the members of the Congress. The guests, to the number of over 700, were received by the Lord Provost and Magistrates from a quarter past seven o'clock until about eight, and were entertained during the evening to music, supplied in the Banqueting Hall by Herr Iff's band and in the corridors by the Boys' Brigade Band. The staircases and corridors were decorated with plants and flowers. The scene was a brilliant one, and the gay dresses of the ladies, set off by the more sombre attire of the men, were a pleasing and picturesque sight. In the course of the evening the guests assembled in the Banqueting Hall, and were welcomed by the Lord Provost, who was accompanied to the platform by, among others, Baillie Cleland, Dr. W. Evans Darby, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, U.S.A.; Principal Hutton, Bailie Maclay, Herr Richter, M. Frédéric Passy, Mr. Joshua Rowntree, Bailie King, Mr. John Wilson, ex-M.P.; Professor Hudson, Bailies Willock, Finlay, J. C. Robertson, Treasurer Murray, Dr. Rendel Harris, Mr. J. Frederick Green, Mr. E. Russell Brayshaw, Mr. John Garroway, Rev. Dr. Fergus Ferguson, Rev. Dr. Boyd, Mr. W. T. Begg, the City Chamberlain, Mr. Robert Cameron, M. Arnaud, Mr. Moch, M. Ruysen, and Mr. Bain, ex-Canadian Speaker, Ottawa.

The Lord Provost said: It is with very great pleasure that to-night, in the name of the Magistrates and the Corporation of the City of Glasgow, I express our satisfaction that so many members and friends of the Tenth Universal Peace Congress have been able to accept our invitation to

spend an hour or two in fellowship and intercourse with each other under our municipal roof. We extend to you the most hearty and cordial welcome, and express the hope that your Congress itself, as well as the functions in connection with it, will be full of pleasure and comfortable to yourselves, and that it will contribute to the furtherance of the great cause for which it exists, and to extend which is the aim and object of your efforts. The Corporation is sometimes likened to a State, and we have heard to-day, some of us, comparisons between the City of Glasgow and States possessing, as they do, princes, potentates, and other equipments. But there is this difference: the Corporation, whatever it may do, never makes War, it never engages in any hostile design or enterprise; the basis of its prosperity is that of Peace, and I should think that, that being so with the little State of a Corporation, it would also be found to be equally true in connection with a great Kingdom, or Empire even, that it should have as the basis of its existence, Peace. We all recognise that the Christal ideal is that of brotherhood and love, and living in peace with all men, and that the efforts of all men should be directed towards the maintenance and extension of Peace. Our ideal is a time of Universal Peace, and I am sure that we all wish, long, and pray for its realisation. (Applause.)

Dr. W. Evans Darby, in acknowledging on behalf of the members of the Congress the kindness of the Corporation in welcoming them in the Municipal Buildings, referred especially to the personal urbanity of the Lord Provost and the courtesy he had received from him. The Lord Provost had reminded them that this great municipality, which, he said, never makes war, represented what was the basis of their great imperial glory and power—in spite of its aggressiveness. The British Empire had been built up upon all that was represented by this great community on the banks of the Clyde. It was not the sword which had created that Empire. Her ships have sailed on every sea; foremost of her colonists have been the sons of Scotia, and they had established themselves everywhere. The natural vigour of the race had asserted itself, not by physical force only, but by strength of character, activity, diligence, and all that was represented in this great city, whose Corporation never made

war and whose foundations rested on Peace. Her ships which plied from one shore to another were the shuttles which were weaving the web of international comity and friendship. At that moment, in her great Exhibition, she was holding a mute Peace Congress—a collection of the products and results of friendly rivalry and co-operation, and he thought it was most fitting that the advocates in their Annual Congress should find a place among the many visitors who were welcomed to their city during this significant season.

Dr. B. F. Trueblood, who represented the foreign delegates, said that as a representative of the great Republic across the water, he wished to express their profound appreciation of the large and generous expression of sympathy in the great daily newspapers—not only in Glasgow, but in other parts of the United Kingdom—at the great calamity which had befallen it. These expressions were the truest, the most genuine expressions of common humanity; and after all it was upon this large generosity of heart more than upon anything they did themselves that their cause rested. (Applause.)

The Rev. Principal Hutton said that they did not despair of Peace among the nations; he thought they could see Providence leading the nations upon lines of Peace. Even now the nations were afraid of one another, so that even the tremendous armaments had the significance of Peace. He believed that in former days the Peace Congresses made certain missionary visits to persons who had the reins of influence to lay before them their views, and to urge upon them the interests of peace. He did not know whether their esteemed friends of the Executive had been doing that in any special way, but he hoped that if the Government or leading politicians heard of what they had been saying they would send a deputation—a missionary deputation—to their good old friend Mr. Kruger, and try to help him to a better interpretation of his Old Testament passages, and urge upon him what he could do as an individual to bring about peace. (Applause.)

Mr. John Wilson proposed a vote of thanks to the Corporation, and the Lord Provost briefly replied.

A selection of music was afterwards given by the Glasgow Glee Party in the Banqueting Hall.

SECOND SESSION.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1901.

The sittings of the Tenth Universal Peace Congress were resumed in St. Andrew's (Berkeley) Hall, at ten o'clock. Dr. Spence Watson presided.

ANNUAL REPORT.

M. Novicow (Odessa), Chairman and Rapporteur of Commission A, the Commission on Actualities, proposed the adoption of the Report of the International Peace Bureau on the events of the year, which had been referred to that Commission at the previous sitting.

The text of the Report, which was read in English by Mr. Adolphe Smith, was as follows:—

REPORT ON EVENTS OF THE YEAR.

At the opening session of each Universal Peace Congress there is read a report from our Bureau on the events of the year which have affected peace or war, and which are of a kind likely to interest directly the Peace Movement. This report is remitted to Commission A (on political actualities), which examines it, and presents to the Congress the propositions which it considers advisable on the points set forth. The conclusions of the Commission form a basis for the deliberations of the Congress. This method of procedure not having encountered any opposition in the Congresses during the seven or eight years during which it has been employed, we shall in the present report fulfil the task which falls to us yearly, recalling that we make no pretence of exhausting the subjects any more than of imposing our own point of view, but that our more modest rôle is limited to indicating the gravest questions for the attention of the Congress.

The first which presents itself, contrary to all expectations of last year, is that of the *war between the English and the Boers in South*

Africa. At the Universal Peace Congress in Paris in October, 1900, no one thought that this terrible war would figure again on the list of the preoccupations of the civilised world. Public opinion was already completely turned towards a pacific solution by means of a direct understanding between the two nations in question, or of an offer of good offices on the part of Neutral Powers. This solution appeared so much the more natural in that it conformed to the procedure recommended by the Hague Conference, and that the moral and material interests of the two parties imperatively dictated the cessation of hostilities.

Also, initiatives for mediation were numerous and urgent on the part of the Peace groups of all countries, to say nothing of the steps taken by influential personages, before and during the visit of Mr. Kruger to Europe. No effort has been spared, but this great movement of humanity has been frustrated up to the present by the obstinacy of the English Ministry, which has been willing to listen neither to the voice of sentiment nor the threats of an interminable conflict.

The death of Queen Victoria, which occurred after the date of our last report, did not exercise any influence on the march of these pitiable events, which, for their part, appear to have shortened the life of the Sovereign. Steps in favour of peace were taken on the occasion of the accession of King Edward VII. to the throne, but they have been hitherto without result, or, at least, it is to be feared that the words of conciliation have only reached the royal ear across the subtleties of persons interested in stopping their passage.

These successive failures must not, however, discourage the friends of Peace by way of Justice. We should only rest when the labour is accomplished and the task achieved.

In October, 1900, the delegates of the Peace Societies assembled in Paris issued a warm appeal to all nations, begging Peace-workers to spread it by means of the press, posters, petitions, public meetings, lectures, etc., and by using all the means that they thought efficacious, in a new and larger effort with a view to a prompt solution of the Anglo-Boer conflict by the recognition of the right of nations to dispose freely of themselves. The Congress of 1901 will doubtless find it timely to confirm this appeal in terms such as the present situation suggests.

The violent complications produced in China after the revolt of the Boxers have resulted in the conclusion of a treaty, the first consequence of which has been to afford the European, American, and Japanese Allies the occasion of retiring quietly from an enterprise into which they had entered without having sufficiently prepared for the issue.

The opinions expressed by the Peace Congress of last year have still an important bearing on the Chinese conflict, for if the Allied Powers have this time guaranteed up to a certain point the life and property of their subjects established in China, while respecting in some measure the integrity of China, this guarantee is precarious, resting as it does

only on the use of force, instead of on the precise and recognised rules of international justice. There is much to be accomplished still in this respect in the Far East, and the friends of Peace will have only too many occasions to recall the principles they have proclaimed, with good right, in their resolutions concerning Colonial policy.

During the past year the sad position of the *Armenian population* has not been improved. The European Governments have made no collective efforts to put an end to the cruelties systematically committed against this unfortunate nation. The Government of the French Republic has, however, by diplomatic intervention, stopped a projected massacre at Aintab, in December, 1900. Acts of unheard-of violence have been reported in nearly all the villages inhabited by Armenian families—at Spaghan, in July, 1900; at the Convent of Bor, near Bitlis, in September; at Moush, in December, and more recently still in other localities. On the other hand, the question of the repatriation of 40,000 Armenian refugees is not settled, and new expulsions, *en masse*, are the order of the day.

The European Powers would render a great service to humanity if, conformably with the invitation addressed to them by the Ninth Universal Peace Congress, they took the proper measures to impose upon the Turkish Government a rational and radical solution of the Armenian question.

The political horizon of the states of *Central America* and of southern North America is overclouded, and already hostilities have commenced between the Republic of Venezuela and Colombia. Military insurrections have constantly occurred, designed by generals seeking in the neighbouring country a standpoint for their ambitious designs, and troubling relations of good neighbourliness for the profit of personal interest.

On several occasions conflicts of this kind have been settled by amicable intervention, and the recourse to arbitration has put an end to litigations which were based only on the lack of a sufficient knowledge of the facts. We have numerous proofs of the fact that when the differences have been the subject of an impartial study whose results have been brought to the knowledge of the parties before they were too far advanced, an understanding is usually arrived at; but it is not always easy to find in time experts or mediators carrying the necessary authority.

We think it our duty also to recall generally and with reference to all conflicts the fact that the Ninth Congress recognised as fully demonstrated “the necessity of making impartial and complete inquiries as to the facts relating to international differences by persons qualified by their experience, character, and independence of spirit, in cases where the Governments shall not already have had recourse to this means.” This question should not be dropped from the programme of our Congresses until the projected institution has entered upon its functions.

Taken together, the events of the passing year would present a very sombre picture to the eyes of the friends of Peace if they wished to regard the facts without connecting them with their causes, and above

all, their probable consequences. The military crises which we have witnessed during the last three years are, without doubt, distressing; but the horror more and more inspired by the continuance of massacres in South Africa, in the Philippines, and in the Far East will perhaps become one of the most powerful auxiliaries of the propaganda for the pacific solution of international differences. Numerous are those who acclaimed, by habit and without reflection, the preparations for the war, but who know now what are the material and moral consequences of every appeal to arms, with its uncertainties, its threat of ruin, its perils for civilisation, and its bloody realities.

It is impossible that this impression should not fill men's minds with a horror of what is happening. And, in fact, never were aspirations towards peace and security more general or more ardent among the masses than they are to-day.

These aspirations, which brave the tempests of warfare, have before them, too, the beacon of *The Hague Convention for the pacific regulation of international differences*. The light of this beacon is still obscured by the mists of the past, but the future will see it break forth for the benefit of the world. All that is needed is that States should become accustomed to use this powerful element of concord every time that an appeal to arbitration becomes necessary.

War stands condemned by its own excesses. We pass indifferently by a chimney a-fire; but when an entire street is in flames we return from the melancholy spectacle firmly intending to take all conceivable precautions against a fire in one's own house. Warfare, as it is actually carried on, is a conflagration whose vicissitudes we cannot follow without suffering the same sensation. Our generation finds itself on the threshold of a new era, which cannot free itself by a simple stroke from the evil heritage of its forerunner; but what the people dimly perceive as a star trembling on the horizon is a planet of the first magnitude, which will necessarily mount to the zenith in its own time.

It is with this steadfast conviction that we conclude the present report, offering you, dear colleagues, our cordial salutations.

In the name of the Permanent International Peace Bureau,

ELIE DUcommun.

The Report was adopted.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

M. Novicow (Odessa, Russia), as reporter of Commission A, submitted a report on the state of affairs in Armenia. The report requested that the Congress should pass a resolution asking the Governments who were guarantors to the Treaty of Berlin to make a collective effort to put an end to the cruelties systematically committed upon the unfortunate Christian nation of Armenia, and that a petition should be presented to the various Governments who had signed the Treaty of Berlin, so that they might call together an official conference to bring about the solution of the Armenian question by the application of the project of reform elaborated in May, 1895, by the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Russia, and ratified by the Sultan himself. In supporting the resolution, he observed that the mistrust of the Powers, one towards the other, had proved very disastrous to the welfare of the Christian populations in the East. (Applause.) Every nation seemed to think that the moment the Turkish question came forward every other nation was going to grab a portion of the Turkish Empire. When the Armenian massacres took place it was the duty of Russia to have advanced and prevented the massacres. He moved that:

[ENGLISH.]

The Tenth Universal Peace Congress, assembled at Glasgow in September, 1901,

Having taken note of the Report of the International Permanent Peace Bureau, of a memoir on the present condition of the Armenians in Turkey, presented by Mr. H. Arakelian, Armenian publicist, and of a letter of the Peace Societies of the United States of America;

Considering that the sad situation of the Armenian population is in no way improved, that the massacres and the atrocities continue in Armenia, that the Governments which are the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin have not made any collective effort to put an end to the cruelties systematically committed upon this unhappy Christian population;

Decides:

To address a request to the signatories of the Berlin Treaty with a view to the calling of an official Conference for the solution of the

Armenian Question by the application of the scheme of reforms elaborated in May, 1895, by the British, French, and Russian Governments, and ratified by the Sultan himself.

[FRENCH.]

Le dixième Congrès universel de la Paix, réuni à Glasgow en Septembre, 1901,

Après avoir pris connaissance du rapport du Bureau international permanent de la Paix, d'un mémoire sur l'état actuel des Arméniens en Turquie, présenté par M. H. Arakélian, publiciste arménien, et d'une lettre des Sociétés de la Paix des Etats-Unis d'Amérique;

Considérant que la triste situation de la population arménienne ne s'est point améliorée, que les massacres et les atrocités continuent en Arménie, que les Gouvernements signataires du traité de Berlin n'ont tenté aucun effort collectif pour mettre un terme aux cruautés systématiquement commises envers cette malheureuse population chrétienne;

Décide :

D'adresser une requête aux Etats signataires du traité de Berlin, afin de réunir une conférence officielle pour la solution de la question arménienne par l'application du projet de réformes élaboré, en mai 1895, par les Gouvernements Anglais, Français et Russe, et ratifié même par le Sultan.

The discussion was opened by Mr. Joseph Sturge (Birmingham), who said that, while yielding to no one in his sympathy for the miseries of the Armenians, and while thinking that something should be done to meet the evils of Turkish mis-government, objected to the resolution because it might lead to the necessity for the use of armed force. He pointed out that the Congress met for the purpose of making efforts in the direction of permanent and universal Peace, and if Britain, France, and Russia insisted on Turkey accepting the projects referred to in the resolution, it would lead to war. He moved, as an amendment, "That the Congress proceed to the next business."

Rev. W. J. SPRIGGS SMITH (Wisbech), in seconding the amendment, said he felt that Mr. Sturge had taken the right course. If they passed such a resolution as had been submitted, they might pass another in reference to the treatment of the Jews by the Russian Government, or to the action of our own Government in regard to the Transvaal, or in

reference to the Semitic question in France. He felt that such a resolution was opposed to the principles which they were there to maintain.

Mr. H. ARAKÉLIAN (Tiflis, representing the Armenian friends of Peace in Persia) expressed surprise that the resolution should meet with opposition. They sympathised with the persecuted Jew, the Boer, and the Irishman, but the position of the Jew and the Irishman did not constitute an international question. There had been no international agreement as to the sort of government that should be meted out to the population of Ireland, or to the Jewish population of Russia, but there had been a treaty signed by the leading Powers of Europe in regard to Armenia. The Russians did not kill the Jews, and the British did not kill the Irish. (Applause.)

MISS GERAGOSIAN, as an Armenian, expressed, on behalf of her nation, the opinion that the resolution should insist on the use of moral force. That would be far better than armed force, which would mean a wholesale massacre in the East.

Professor QUIDDE remarked that objections of different orders had been made. One series of objections was based on the argument that there were other peoples that likewise suffered from oppression. That was true, but the Armenian people were the only people who had been made the subject of international treaty. The other questions were national; this was international. Therefore it came within the province of an international Congress to determine. The other objection was that it might provoke war. This applied to every question. All their questions had a tendency to provoke war; and they were here precisely because they had such a tendency. The thing was to find a way by which such war might be avoided. However, as there had been some difficulty in this matter, and as a word here and there might convey some meaning that was not intended, he proposed that the resolution should be translated and printed, and that then the vote should be taken; and that therefore they adjourn the vote till the resolution was translated and printed.

Dr. DARBY: If we adopt that course with every subject we shall have to stop here till next year. It would be well, therefore, to have this subject settled to-day. We have a long programme, and we shall get through it only if we complete each discussion as it arises.

Miss E. ROBINSON: I propose the discussion now close, and that the vote be taken.

The CHAIRMAN: Is there a seconder? The President of Commission seconds the resolution in favour of closure. I think there is nothing more to be said with advantage to the Congress.

The closure was adopted, and on a further division the resolution was carried by a large majority.

AN INTERNATIONAL AUXILIARY LANGUAGE.

M. RUYSEN, in the name of Commission C—the Commission on Propaganda—submitted a report on this question. He said that at the Hamburg Congress in 1897 this question was brought forward, and a proposal was made in favour of Latin, or some newly-compounded language; but the Congress decided that it was not competent to express an opinion on the subject, that it approved the general idea, but that the choice must be left to a body of experts. Such a body had been constituted in the interval. At Paris last year the delegates at various Congresses, held during the Exhibition, took upon themselves the initiative, organised themselves, met and discussed how an international language could be established, and elaborated the following programme:—

I. It is desirable to choose and extend the use of an auxiliary international language, intended not to replace the national idioms in the habitual life of each people, but to assist in written and oral relations between persons of different mother tongues.

II. An international language in order usefully to accomplish its purpose should satisfy the following conditions:

- (1) It should be capable of serving in the habitual relations of social life, in commercial correspondence, and in scientific and philosophical statements;
- (2) It should be easy of acquisition by everyone of fair elementary education, and especially by persons of European civilisation;
- (3) It should not be one of the national languages.

III. It would be well to organise a general delegation, representing those persons who apprehend the need as well as the possibility of an auxiliary language, and who are interested in its use. This delegation would appoint a Committee composed of members able to meet together for a certain length of time. The duty of this Committee would be as follows :

IV. The choice of an auxiliary language would belong at the outset to the International Association of Academies ; then, in case of failure, to the Committee provided for in Article III.

V. Consequently, the Committee would have as its first duty the presentation, in the requisite forms, to the International Association of Academies, the views expressed by the adherent Societies and Congresses, and respectfully to invite it to carry into effect the project of an international language.

Thus a Committee came into being, and this Committee invited all persons interested to join it. The Peace Party, as represented by the International Bureau at Berne, delegated M. Gaston Moch to that Committee. It had since reported that a primary requisite was that such idioms should be chosen as could be most easily understood by various nations ; that no attempt should be made to supplant any existing language, but that a simple language outside all others should be formed—just as there are international figures for music and mathematics—based on what would be most suitable for commercial and scientific intercourse, and such as could be easily acquired, especially by Europeans. The Committee felt itself lacking in power to carry this idea out ; but the International Congress of Academies, and the International Federation of Academies of Science and Literature, formed as a result of it, would have that power. To this Federation, therefore, the scheme of the Committee would be referred. All that was proposed, on the present occasion, was to approve the principle, and afterwards to appoint two delegates for each nationality to the Committee. In doing this, the greatest care should be taken to elect persons competent by reason of special knowledge of the science of language, and not simply persons who in a general way had become interested in the question. (Hear, hear.)

The Committee of Propaganda proposed the following resolution :—

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress declares that it adheres to the general principles contained in the Declarations of the Delegation for the adoption of an auxiliary international language. The Congress invites the Delegates present to meet without delay in language-groups, and to nominate two Delegates for each language, whose names shall be submitted for the approbation of the Congress.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès déclare qu'il adhère aux principes généraux énoncés dans la déclaration de la Délégation pour l'adoption d'une langue auxiliaire internationale. Le Congrès invite les délégués présents à se réunir sans retard par langues et à désigner deux délégués de chaque langue, dont les noms seront soumis à l'approbation du Congrès.

Mr. W. P. BYLES (Bradford) said he thought this was a proposal of an absolutely unpractical nature. (Hear, hear.) When they could not even get an international coinage or international weights and measures, for that Congress to rebuild the Tower of Babel was a hopeless and Utopian idea. However much disturbed or confused they might be by the inconveniences of bi-lingual discussion, they should not be led away, even by their respect for those who have this dream and have brought their scheme forward with so much ability. The prime motive and aim of that Congress and the Peace Societies—the furtherance of Arbitration and the maintenance of the new Tribunal—were eminently practical; and if they talked of those things they would get more sympathy from the outside world, which at present believed that that room was occupied by cranks. (Laughter.) He was sorry any of their discussions should lend colour to that erroneous opinion.

M. GASTON MOCH said it was certain that they were all Utopians, and the idea of obtaining universal peace by arbitration was just as much Utopian as that of an international language. ("No.") It would be better to speak of an auxiliary than of an international language. It was not proposed to substitute a new for existing languages, but to provide an extra tool for those who wish to utilise it. He had studied forty different systems of such a language, and he could say without prejudice—for he was not concerned in its

invention—that the best was “Esperanto.” The Congress interested itself in many other questions than that of arbitration; for instance, it had aided in the institution of correspondence between scholars of different nations. Personally he could understand half-a-dozen languages, but he could testify from his own knowledge that “Esperanto” had been of service. From Sweden he had recently received, from an individual he had never heard of, a letter asking him his views on a public subject, and in reply he wrote a little article in “Esperanto,” which duly appeared in the Swedish press—though under another man’s signature! The Grammar could be explained in a quarter of an hour; the language could be learned in a week’s study; and it is already being turned to practical use in different parts of Europe. Anything that could bring the peoples together was work in favour of peace. (Cheers.)

DON ARTURO DE MARCOARTU thought that was an important question for an assembly of men of letters; but he agreed with Mr. Byles that it was not practical for that Congress. If they attempted to deal with such questions they would never get to the real business of the Congress.

M. FRÉDÉRIC PASSY said what was proposed was not the adoption of a substitute for international language, but the facilitation of international communications. Of course, uniform money and weights and measures were among the most important items in the propaganda of Peace Societies; and it was quite within their province to support every movement to render international intercourse more easy and profitable. But last year something more significant and wonderful occurred—the federation of universities throughout the world. To such an organisation the solution of the problem of an auxiliary language could be transferred, but the Congress could appoint the delegates asked for, and this might become one of the best means of furthering their cause.

Mrs. MEAD said it seemed to her that, however desirable the object of the proposition might be—and she could well believe it was so—it was perfectly useless for them to take any step in the matter. The value of any man’s judgment

was measured by his sense of proportion and emphasis, and the respect which the Peace Society had secured was largely due to the sense of proportion it had shown. While this was an important question for some people, it was not for them at that time. She hoped, therefore, that no more precious time would be wasted.

On the motion of Mr. T. P. NEWMAN, the question was then put, and Mr. Moscheles having reminded the delegates of the necessity of showing their variously coloured voting cards, and M. Arnaud having announced that no delegate could give more than ten votes, M. Ruyssen's proposition was carried by a large majority, and at 12.30 the Congress adjourned.

THIRD SESSION.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 11th, 1901.

The Congress reassembled at 2 o'clock. In the absence of Dr. Spence Watson, Dr. Trueblood occupied the chair.

CLOSER UNION OF SOCIETIES.

Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES brought up the following proposals "for a closer union of Peace Societies (A) through the medium of the Berne Bureau, (B) through direct communication between Societies themselves":—

"A.—The usefulness of the Berne Bureau could be further developed by:—

"(1) The more frequent publication in the *Correspondance Bimensuelle* of information supplied by the Peace Societies concerning themselves and their respective countries.

"(2) The publication in the *Correspondance* of proposals emanating from Peace Societies, or of appeals for united action.

"(3) The publication, in connection with the *Correspondance*, of a separate leaflet, headed 'Demand and Supply,' in which each Society could, firstly, make known its wants, and secondly, offer to supply the wants of other Societies. This would facilitate the exchange of books, pamphlets, and generally of Peace literature, and would lead to the foundation of Peace libraries in all centres. The leaflet could contain a list of objects which members might wish to dispose of for the benefit of their own or other Societies. It could make it known where, and on what terms, lantern slides, or other appliances, to be utilised at Peace lectures are to be obtained, and it could give the names of those who are willing to lecture on subjects connected with the movement. The adoption of the above suggestions would lead, in due time, to a further development of the paper issued in the interests of all Societies by the Central Bureau representing them. The editor of the *Correspondance* would retain full authority to decide whether the matter forwarded to

him should be published through the medium of his office, or whether it would be more suitable for direct communication from one Society to another.

"B.—Systematic interchange of communications between the Peace Societies themselves with the purpose of:—

"(1) Supplying useful or interesting information to supplement the bare facts recorded in the *Correspondance*.

"(2) Supplying further information on efforts made and successes obtained, with a view to placing such information before the public of all countries through the agency of their respective societies.

"(3) Exchanging regularly letters for publication in the journals of Peace Societies.

"(4) Studying simultaneously those questions which are of common interest.

"(5) Taking simultaneous action in matters of importance.

"(6) Linking together the societies of one country by the holding of occasional national meetings.

"(7) Holding periodically meetings of representatives of the various groups in each city, foreign members being invited to join them when on a visit to that city. (The first Thursday of each month has been adopted for such meeting in London.)

"(8) Adopting a badge to be worn by all members of Peace Societies."

The Section Sénonaise of the French Arbitration Society had given notice to move:—

"The Congress is of opinion that the Peace Societies in each country should undertake to group themselves into one Society, divided into provincial sections; or at least should create among themselves a federal bond, so as to regularise propaganda, to render their efforts more effective by co-ordinating and localising them, and to facilitate the common action of the friends of Peace in each country."

Having noted these proposals, Mr. MOSCHELES moved, on behalf of Commission C:—

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress is of opinion that it is one of the most pressing duties of the Congress to form Committees with the object of organising a closer union on the lines proposed in the papers submitted to the Congress for that purpose by Mr. Felix Moscheles, Mr. Novicoff, Mr. Gaston Moch, and the Section Sénonaise. Such Committees shall consist of those named, with power to add to their numbers, and shall report to the next Congress.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès est d'avis qu'il est urgent de constituer un Comité chargé d'étudier la création d'une union plus étroite entre les Sociétés de la

Paix, d'après les plans proposés au Congrès par M. Moscheles, M. Novikow, M. Gaston Moch et la Société Sénonaise. Ce Comité comprendra les auteurs des propositions soumises au Congrès sur ce sujet et les personnes qu'il trouvera bon de s'adjoindre. Il rapportera au prochain Congrès.

He deprecated a detailed discussion of these suggestions. Rules and regulations and questions of organisation must be relegated a good deal more than hitherto to discussion outside the Congress. The Berne Bureau had done admirable work, but it had only been utilised to a small extent. Facts were published in the *Correspondance Bimensuelle*, but their number could be multiplied with advantage if the Peace Societies acted much as Consulates act when they transmit information to a central authority. Opportunities were lost, as when a powerful anti-duelling agitation had been initiated twelve months ago in Austria and Germany by Don Alfonso de Bourbon, the brother of Don Carlos. If this movement had been duly notified to the societies they might have supported it and endorsed the proposed "Formula of Declaration." The fact that the Swedish Chamber had voted a subvention of 750 crowns to the Berne Bureau would appear in the *Correspondance*, but the Swedish Peace Society might have sent a circular giving particulars as to the way in which such important success was achieved. Information of the kind might lead to similar attempts being made in other countries, and would certainly be the means of educating a wider circle in matters concerning the Peace movement. The Peace Society had, by dint of persevering efforts, succeeded in establishing a Peace Sunday in this country. The facts and figures concerning those efforts and their results could be embodied in a few paragraphs, which would reach the public of all countries through the agency of their respective Peace Societies, and which at the same time would be an incentive and an assistance to those who would wish to establish the "Peace Sunday" in their own country. It was difficult to bring the members and officers of various societies together in occasional meetings, but an attempt had been made in London, where a meeting, at which their foreign friends were specially welcome, was held on the first

Thursday of each month. The greatest scope for improvement, he believed, would be found in systematic interchange of communications between the societies themselves, with the object of (1) studying such questions simultaneously which are of general interest, and (2) taking joint action in matters of importance. The Congresses and "Peace Day" had furnished abundant proof that joint study and action is desirable. There we issued manifestoes or declarations, or we voted resolutions, striking an average between the various shades of opinion represented. What was done twice a year should be done as the pressing occasion arose. What was sufficient yesterday was insufficient to-day. Our work and our successes had come in dribblets, excellent in themselves, but only little isolated drops that were waiting to be collected into a running stream. All honour to the pioneers, but we must look to the young and the strong to carry on the work begun; and who was not young and strong when he was inspired to combat the demon of destruction, of extermination—the demon of warfare! (Cheers.)

Dr. W. EVANS DARBY confessed to some little confusion of thought. Were the societies to form national committees, or was the Congress to form a committee to report to the Berne Bureau? He understood Mr. Moscheles to say that he wished a committee to be appointed *without discussion*, and it *should not be left to the societies* to say whether they should do anything or not. But it should be pointed out that the Congress could not legislate for the societies—it was only a deliberative gathering, and had no legislative authority.

Mr. T. P. NEWMAN suggested that Mr. Moscheles had given a great deal of thought and care to the elaboration of these practical proposals, and expressed the hope that proper steps would be taken to bring them before the societies.

Dr. DARBY: Any proposal should come as a recommendation to the societies—I think we shall all approve of that. I endorse, too, what Mr. Newman has said—that the executives of the various societies should be asked to take the suggestions into consideration. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MOSCHELES: To leave the executives of the various societies to take the suggestions into consideration would

simply mean the shelving of my proposals. The resolution is to the effect that the Congress not only recommends, but urges, "as one of the most pressing duties," the formation of committees for the study of the points enumerated. There is no question of asking the Congress to "legislate" for the societies. It is asked to recognise that, for want of concerted action, much good work has been neglected, and many an excellent resolution has remained a dead letter, and that means must be devised to remedy the evil. It is not a question of what should be done, but of what should be studied. If the Congress has not authority to secure that much, it has not any at all. Any of the societies would be justified in not acting upon these proposals; but the Congress would not, I think, be justified in refusing to send the recommendations to them.

M. EMILE ARNAUD wished first to correct the impression he imagined had gained ground that a large sum of money had been sent from Sweden to the Berne Bureau. It was an annual subvention of 700 crowns. That was not sufficient to meet current expenses, and more subscriptions were wanted. If the Congress adopted the motion now before it, that would increase the expenses of the Bureau, and make the need for subscriptions more urgent. One organization, already approved in principle by previous Assemblies, and of capital importance, was that of a *Peace Press Agency*. It had been calculated that £800 would be necessary to create it, and to ensure its activity; till now only £160 had been offered for that purpose. The Congress should not be committed to propositions it had not examined. He thought, therefore, that the resolution should be given an impersonal character, and a form leaving the largest liberty to the Societies. He proposed a new text to the resolution—namely, that after the name of Mr. Moscheles, M. Novicow, and the Sénonaise Section, it should read :

"This Congress is of opinion that, as soon as possible, Committees should be constituted in each country to study the means of making the bonds between the Peace Societies closer and their efforts more efficacious, these Committees to report on their labours to the International Peace Bureau at Berne, which in turn shall report to the next Congress."

M. PASSY said no one entertained the idea of ordering the Societies to do anything. He thought the Congress might invite them to study these proposals, the Societies still preserving to the full their local independence.

Mr. W. P. BYLES heartily supported the motion. He was afraid the Congress might be tempted to go too much into matters of detail; but he believed they should do more than hitherto to present themselves to the world as an organic whole. (Hear, hear.) The Chairman had said that no one need hang his head because he was a friend of Peace. He (Mr. Byles) believed the friends of Peace were a much bigger body than was generally supposed by the outside world; and he thought their object in that Congress should be to make themselves appear as big as they really were, instead of allowing themselves to be continually brushed aside as negligible quantities. He believed they would convert the world—and soon—but they should be more united. In regard to the English Societies, he had always regretted that there should be four or five central bodies instead of one. Three or four of them had newspapers of their own. Why should there not be one only, expressing the principles of Peace, which should speak in the name of them all? As long as they were divided they would be weaker than might be. He would like to see the three chief Societies united, at any rate, as far as regards a common organ. The last of Mr. Moscheles' proposals related to a Peace badge. Men who wore badges were either ashamed of them or proud of not being ashamed; they lead to ostentatious parade or formalism. But he strongly supported the general proposals.

Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD (Boston, U.S.A.) said he was heartily in sympathy with the proposals, which he regarded as so important that he wished to make a suggestion in order to obviate some objections. The resolution, as it was brought forward, seemed to make the Congress a legislative body. At the same time it would be a pity to lose the efforts of the gentlemen who had given so much devoted thought to the subject. He suggested that the motion should open—

“The Congress urges that a Committee shall be formed for the purpose of studying and outlining a plan for the closer union of all Peace Societies,”

closing with the nomination of those who had reported, and the request that they should report to the next Congress.

Mr. MOSCHELES pointed out that, until the proposals of M. Novicow, M. Moch, and the Section Sénonaise had been reported and discussed, he alone was virtually instructed to organize the formation of Committees, but he agreed to a vote being taken on those lines. He wished the Congress to guard against passing resolutions that came to nothing.

M. Arnaud's proposal having been rejected by 96 against 73 votes, and Mr. Mead having then withdrawn his amendment, the original motion was carried by 114 votes against 4.

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR.

MISS ELLEN ROBINSON, for the Society of Friends, moved :

[ENGLISH.]

Seeing that Christian ethics forbid all hatred, violence, and injustice between man and man, and enjoin brotherhood, sympathy, and love, this Congress is of opinion that persistent efforts should be made to bring home these truths to rulers and citizens professing the Christian religion, in order to convince them that war and militarism are absolutely opposed to the teaching and spirit of Christ. It calls upon Christian ministers and workers to aid in these efforts.

[FRENCH.]

Considérant que la morale chrétienne défend toute haine, violence et injustice entre les hommes, et qu'elle enjoint la fraternité, la sympathie et l'amour.

Le Congrès émet l'opinion qu'il faut faire des efforts persistants pour convaincre de ces vérités les Gouvernements et les citoyens qui font profession de la religion chrétienne, afin qu'il soient convaincus que la guerre et le militarisme sont absolument contraires à l'essence de l'enseignement du Christ.

Le Congrès fait appel pour cette tâche à l'appui de tous les ministres et éducateurs chrétiens.

She said that, in order to anticipate opposition or amendment, the motion—which on the notice paper had opened : “Seeing that the Governments of almost all European and American States profess to base their rule on Christian ethics”—had been altered so as to eliminate the references to State professions of Christianity. She would also point out that they were not seeking to affirm the truth or otherwise of

the Christian religion, but what they wished to bring before the Congress was this, that the Christian religion did teach love toward their fellow-men, that it was contrary to war and militarism, and that it was the duty of all workers for Peace to press that fact on teachers of the Christian religion. If she were dealing with a drunken Mohammedan population, she would feel herself justified in pointing out to them that their prophet Mahomet forbade strong drink, even though she was not herself a follower of Mahomet. In that spirit she appealed to some of their friends, who were not at one with them, to realize and to join in pointing out to professing Christians that their Lord and Teacher spoke clearly against war and violence, and had absolutely enjoined a course of conduct which was utterly contrary to that followed by Christian nations at the present time. The great importance of this matter had been seen in England during the last year or two, when the Christian Churches, instead of ranging themselves on the side of Arbitration and other means to Peace, had rather upheld the war in South Africa, and this fact had brought the question very strongly home to them. If Christians profess to follow Christ, they should follow Him; if they profess to obey Him, they ought to obey Him. (Applause.) One cause of this lapse was that the teaching of Christ on war had not been sufficiently studied. Tolstoy had given it special study, and they should do so. Even some non-Christians—Mr. Herbert Spencer, for example—were strong in pointing out that the New Testament does enjoin the doctrine of love, and that Christians are grossly inconsistent in trying to uphold the religion of love and of hate at the same time. Christ summed up all the moral commandments in that one great commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Love was no vague sentiment. There was a very plain definition of Love,—“Love worketh no ill to her neighbour.” (Cheers.) How was it possible to follow the great commandment of loving our neighbour—who might be a stranger—and yet carry out such fearful deeds as had been brought to their knowledge during the last year or two? This contradiction had been brought so closely home to them that they could not but wish to bring it home to the

mass of professing Christians. If they had the great Catholic, and Greek, and Protestant bodies enlisted on their side the Peace question would be settled—they would have won the battle. She believed this want of study of the teaching of Christ lay at the bottom of the national backsliding. The Churches had put rites and ceremonies in place of simple obedience. The Congress, whether consisting of Christians or not, ought to express the opinion that the teaching of Christ emphatically condemns the whole evil system of abominable war—(applause)—and even plainly recommends the principle of Arbitration, and it ought especially to call upon all ministers of religion and teachers of the young to study this question again, in the light of His teachings, and to show them that whatever reasons they might have for war, there was not a shadow of excuse for it in the Christian religion. (Applause.)

M. GASTON MOCH said he much regretted to have to combat the proposition, but he must do so with great energy. The modification had certainly improved it. He could never have participated in a statement that the chief governments base their action on Christian morals. He was a citizen of a country that had not a Christian government—the French State was completely secular; and many of them, like himself, were freethinkers. There remained in the motion an invocation of Christianity. It presumed that they had a right to complain of Christians not carrying out their principles, even though they were not themselves Christians. He had no right to go to a priest and tell him he did not know his own business. What would they say if the position were reversed, and a resolution were presented by a body, which held a purely scientific morality, asking that the principles of scientific morality should be more consistently followed? It was true that in that Congress there might be a majority of professed believers in the Christian religion, but if they profited by that majority to pass a resolution of a Christian character, the next time the Congress met there might be a majority of freethinkers who would be at liberty to use their majority to pass a secular and anti-religious resolution. They were told that the Christian religion was beautiful, and

strongly against war. Tolstoy could not be cited as an example of the Christian religion. He had been excommunicated by the Christian Church. They were invited as Christians to be excommunicated along with him from the Christian Church. That seemed inconsistent. He admired the ethical teachings of Christ, but the ethical teachings put forward by Christ were taught years before Christ came into the world. The Buddhists have carried out the principle of Peace by refusing to fight, and the "golden rule" was a maxim of Confucius five hundred years before Christ. The Chinese people, in fact, had carried out the teachings of Confucius in that respect so effectively that they hate militarism, despise soldiers, and have forgotten how to fight. If they had to choose one of these ethical systems it was, therefore, a question to which religion they should go—the Christian, the Chinese, or the Buddhist. If the Peace Societies were to continue to work harmoniously together there must be no attempt to "tar them all with the same brush," and they must remain absolutely neutral in religious matters.

M. Novicow, as a Russian, a compatriot of Tolstoy, and as a freethinker who could not accept Christianity as at present defined, heartily supported the resolution. He welcomed the aid of the Buddhists, and if the Buddhists were the friends of Peace, let them by all means profit by the Buddhist teaching. But he equally welcomed Christianity, if it was equally in favour of Peace. Christianity was undoubtedly a great power, whether they liked it or not; and it exercised at the present moment a great influence. If the sentiment of Peace and morality of the Christian people could be of use to them, let them have its help. If their principles were said to emanate from a God, let them use the help of that God as well as of any other God. As there were such fine principles taught in Christianity let them use those principles in support of the cause of Peace. They had appealed to the Pope, and why should they not equally appeal to other forms of the Christian religion?

The Abbé PICHOT thought there must be some misunderstanding as to the ideas of those who brought forward the

resolution. It must be perfectly evident that no one expected or desired that such a Congress as that should make any sort of profession of faith. There was no question of declaring either belief or disbelief in Christian doctrine. They threw open their doors to all kinds of adherents.

The Rev. OLAUS KELLERMAN (Cette) said that if they were in a Buddhist country they would certainly quote in support of their cause the sublime doctrines of the Lord Buddha; if they were in China they would quote the maxims of Confucius, and as they were in a Christian country, they were justified in quoting the teachings of Christ. Catholics and Protestants equally insist on those passages in that teaching which set forth the ideal of Peace. (Hear, hear.)

Professor QUIDDE (Munich) said that, while himself a free-thinker, and in favour of the secular state, he did not agree with M. Moch. Most of the Governments in Europe pretend to be Christian, and therefore it was a good thing to be able to point out to them how inconsistent they were. If on their part Christians found freethinkers acting inconsistently with their professed principles, they would be justified in pointing this out and criticising them.

M. EMILE ARNAUD said that there were some of the countries represented at The Hague Conference to whom they could not appeal to act in accordance with Christian teaching. Yet they should appeal to all peoples. He accepted the principle of Miss Robinson's motion, however. At the same time, while every effort was being made to move the Christian Churches, they must remember that by far the larger part of humanity was outside the pale of Christianity. Morality was based on the autonomy of the human person, on respect for life. It condemns individual assassination, and, therefore, collective assassination. On this ground appeal should be made to all Governments, all teachers, all peoples. Having adopted Miss Robinson's motion, they should go on to appeal to the wider audience in the name of those universal moral principles which are one and the same throughout the world. Such a larger appeal might commence, "Considering that morality is one and universal," and then continue after the manner of Miss Robinson's motion, modifying its wording to

reach peoples of every country, race, and belief. He moved the following resolution :—

[ENGLISH.]

Considering that morality is one and universal, and that it forbids all hate, all violence, and all injustice between man and man, and that it enjoins or commands fraternity and love, the Congress believes that persistent efforts should be made to induce Governments and citizens of all States to conform with the great moral law, and therefore declare themselves against war and militarism; and the Congress appeals to all the educators of all countries, and all races, and all beliefs.

[FRENCH.]

Considérant que la morale, qui est une et universelle, défend toute haine, toute violence et toute injustice entre les hommes et qu'elle enjoint la fraternité, la sympathie et l'amour;

Le Congrès estime qu'il faut faire des efforts persistants pour que la conduite des gouvernements et des citoyens de tous les Etats soit conforme à la morale et par suite soit contraire à la guerre et au militarisme.

Le Congrès fait appel, à cet effet, à tous les éducateurs de tous pays, de toutes races et de toutes croyances.

Dr. THOMAS (Baltimore, U.S.A.) was confident that no intention existed of forcing the beliefs of those who brought forward the motion upon anyone else. For himself he would have no objection to such a resolution, addressed to believers in a purely scientific morality, as M. Moch had suggested as possible. But there was a special occasion for the present motion. A great many professing Christians had forgotten what were the essential elements of their religion—being satisfied with creeds and outward ceremonies—and what they wished to do was to make those professing Christians reconsider their ground. (Applause.)

The Rev. J. SPRIGGS SMITH (Wisbech) having briefly supported the motion,

A division was taken, when the motion was carried by 188 against 3 votes, and the proposition of M. Arnaud was also adopted with only one dissenting vote.

The Congress adjourned at 5.30 p.m.



WEDNESDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1901.

MEETING AT PAISLEY.

In the evening a public meeting was held in the Clark Memorial Hall, Paisley, when there was a good attendance. A reception was held by the Provost and Magistrates prior to the public meeting, and tea was served in the Minor Town Hall. The Provost took the chair in the large hall at eight o'clock, and he was accompanied by Rev. Principal Hutton, Rev. John Paterson, Rev. Andrew Elder, ex-Provost Clark, Treasurer Mathieson, Bailies Nicolson and McCallum, ex-Bailie Fisher, Councillors Kent, Glover, and Baird, Messrs. James Reith, John A. Brown, James Parlane, and a large number of delegates to the Congress, comprising, as Dr. Darby stated, representatives of almost all the nations of Europe.

Letters of apology were intimated from Sir Thomas and Lady Glen-Coats, Mr. Stewart Clark, Bailie Eadie, Councillor Muir Mackean, Revs. Dr. Henderson, John Porteous, and R. E. Glendening, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and others. After prayer by Rev. Principal Hutton,

The Provost said: We are honoured to-night in having in our midst delegates from the Peace Congress, which has been having a series of meetings in Glasgow this week. In the name of the Magistrates and Town Council, and I venture also to say, in the name of this meeting, we give them a hearty welcome to Paisley. (Applause.) It is our earnest hope that their meetings in Glasgow, this meeting here to-night, and the powerful organisation of their Associations, may have a far-reaching influence for good in promoting and advancing the great object they have in view, and that is, Peace on earth and goodwill among the nations—an object we have all so much at heart. (Cheers.) Since the beginning of time there have been wars and rumours of wars, but for all that, we believe that the majority of mankind are at heart lovers of Peace, and that millions hailed with gratitude the fair prospect of better things as the result of the late conference at The Hague. These hopes, so far, have not been realised. When we look at Europe armed to the teeth, and year by year increasing her armaments; when we look further abroad and see the wakening of the nations which have so long slept in barbarism, accompanied by the roar of cannon and the rattle of the war drum; when we look at home and painfully realise that the expenditure of our own country for offensive and defensive munitions of



DAVID WILSON, Esq.,
Provost of Paisley.



war is going up by leaps and bounds, we almost despair of seeing the white wings of the angel of Peace hovering over a distracted world. (Cheers.) But whatever our hopes and fears may be, it is surely both the duty and the interest of every right-hearted citizen of every country to put forth every effort towards the great end which this Association has in view. It was only the other day that our neighbouring city gave hospitality to a Society whose objects are, in large measure, one with that in whose interests we are now met—I refer to the International Law Association. If the principles of Arbitration enunciated by that Association, and so well spoken to by the Lord Chief Justice, and others who contributed their views on that occasion, were adopted—as at the opening of the twentieth century they surely ought to be—a vast stride would then be made towards the solution of the problem which this Society has set itself to solve. Then the time would be hastened when “Man to man the world o’er would brithers be, an’ a’ that.” (Cheers.)

The Provost called upon

Miss E. ROBINSON, Liverpool, who said she wondered if the people ever thought of the subject of war, for her opinion was that it was their want of thought that was at the bottom of most of our wars. She could not conceive what benefit could be gained from war. If they thought, they would find that the benefit was the very smallest and infinitesimal portion. The Peace Congress met to think out the question, and one conclusion they had come to was “that there was no such thing as a right of conquest.” Did they agree with them? If there was no such thing as a right of conquest, what benefit was there to either the conquerors or the conquered? If they looked back at the history of the world, they would find that the conquering nations had invariably crumbled to pieces. Conquest must needs involve eventual financial ruin, and a military nation could not be a free nation by any possibility—(hear, hear)—and besides that, when they had financial ruin and loss of liberty, the nation got morally weaker and fell to pieces. A few people profited by war, but what did the great mass get? She did not know of anything. Then, as regards the conquered nation, Miss Robinson said her opinion was that every nation knew best how to govern itself, and there was no nation in the world that understood the government of another country, because they were not acquainted with the feelings, thoughts, and desires of foreigners as they were of their own countrymen. (Applause.) If war conferred no benefits, they saw the great misery it brought. Because of that she appealed to her hearers to think of the matter, and give the Congress their support, thereby bringing about Peace and goodwill on earth, for which they spoke so much, and did so little.

Mr. E. D. MEAD, Boston, U.S.A., next addressed the meeting. As an American, he wished to confess his sense of shame at the part his country was playing at the present time in the war against the Philippine people. It was a disgrace to the United States, it was a disgrace to any country, that it should be engaged in subjugating another people or

quenching their aspirations for independence. It was John Bright who pointed out to the United States the clear road to their prosperity, and the clear means—which they had recklessly thrown away—by which they could secure the disarmament of the world, and help to universal Peace. The Americans had become kinsmen to the British in sin; they had become a military nation, and their taxes were multiplying. They had sinned. Perhaps it was the only way open to them in order that they might come out in the larger relations to the world which now faced them, and be forced to throw overboard, as they must, that old Munroe doctrine by which they assumed that this world for political purposes was divided into two hemispheres, and they saw now that the ocean to-day was not a barrier, but a bridge. For political purposes, there were no such things as hemispheres; but there was a round world, and the United States had no claims and no responsibilities towards Paraguay, Uruguay, or Venezuela which she did not hold towards Holland, Greece, or Japan. That was one lesson they had learned. The question of anarchy and the question of war were, at the bottom, parts of the same thing. What was anarchy? It was the froth, the reckless, foolish froth of the great waves of discontent which arose, born in some way out of social injustice, and the distemper of men who could not see far, and whose minds were fired through half understanding the wrongs which exist in this world. They would see more anarchy in the world, and more froth upon the waves of discontent if they did not remove from the world the causes of that social discontent, which, in one form or another, was making itself felt. (Cheers.) One great cause of that discontent was the excessive burdens the people had to bear, and which came from the immense expenditure for war and armaments in the world to-day. The time had come when, if they did not expect to see a far greater discontent than they had yet seen, they must make the people see that their hard-earned money had been spent for constructive, and not destructive things. He urged that ministers of religion had an important duty to discharge in supporting this Peace movement, and condemned the idea, that he was afraid was getting into the Anglo-Saxon mind, that we were a people with a mission to control the world. That fallacy had been held by the Chinese (who called themselves Celestials), the Jews of old, and the Romans. No people had a right to think of themselves as chosen and exclusive. He believed that deep in the Anglo-Saxon heart lay this conviction, but within a decade they would see in the Anglo-Saxon world such a reaction from these things they deplored as would send Britain and America into the glorious service for mankind, such as they had never exhibited before. (Cheers.)

M. FREDERIC PASSY, of Paris, spoke in French, and his remarks were afterwards interpreted to the meeting. He was under the impression that he had been asked to speak so as to show that the Congress of Peace was a Congress of all nations—of various languages and different countries. As a veteran in the organisation of Peace Societies, he was

surprised, and lamented, that it should be still necessary to speak of the miseries of war. Too much, however, could not be said on this subject, especially to an audience like the present, which lived on its labour and worked hard for its living, and yet had so much of the produce of that labour wasted and squandered for war budgets. War was collective murder, followed by plague and famine. A few wealthy people, a few intriguers, politicians, and others, might make some temporary benefit out of war, but for the mass it was misery, and it was wondrous that the mass should still be content to resort to such barbarous expedients. He thought, when rapidity of communication—and Scotsmen were much to be praised in this connection for the part they took in shipbuilding—was considered, and the manner in which the produce of lands and nations was so easily exchanged, that a nation could no longer claim to be the sole possessor of its land. (Hear, hear.) The land where one nation lived was the land which produced the necessities of other nations, and other nations produced necessities for that nation. Therefore, if any nation was attacked in its land, the industries at home were injured. By a war of aggression the damage was not done to one nation alone, but to the collectivity of nations. (Cheers.) It was, therefore, to their interest, as the advocates of Peace and freedom and justice, to protest against war, and to use the whole of their influence to prevent war, and to insist that Arbitration should in future settle disputes. (Cheers.)

Miss P. H. PECKOVER, Wisbech, remarked that there were many people who said that there had always been wars and always would be; but she pointed out that the cause of Peace was in a better position than ever before. She spoke of the formation of Peace Societies—first in Britain and America—and gave details of the work, pointing out the good work they were doing and the progress being made by the International Peace Society. It was the duty of the young men and women of this generation to take up the work and carry out the objects of the Society. (Applause.)

Mrs. BRADLAUGH-BONNER, in a very able speech, remarked that the people of this country, who were said to be lovers of Peace, had hardly a single year's Peace. Their arms were engaged in some part of the world, and yet in spite of this warfare they know little about the actual horrors of war. It was the duty of the Peace Societies to inform the people what war was. She also dealt with the wanton expenditure involved by wars and armaments, contending that the tax-payers of the world would soon insist on the Governments checking the waste and applying some of the many millions that were expended every year in educating and elevating the people. (Applause.)

Mr. HAZELL, Treasurer of the Peace Society, in moving a vote of thanks to the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council for their hospitality and invitation to the town, and to Provost Wilson for presiding, remarked that the progress of the movement—which had aims appealing to all, irrespective of party—gave ground for hope. Slowly but surely the

great heart of humanity was growing into a conception of the gradual growth of the reign of law ; and Arbitration was taking the place of war. In support of this, he instanced several recent difficulties settled by arbitration—difficulties which otherwise might have led to hostilities. In spite of all, he believed in the ultimate cause of Peace.

Dr. DARBY, Secretary of the Peace Society, in seconding the vote of thanks, on behalf of the Congress and his colleagues in the work, thanked the people of Paisley for their splendid reception that night. They were specially indebted to his friend, Provost Clark, not only for this visit, but for other opportunities of bringing the question before the public of Paisley.

Ex-Provost CLARK returned thanks on behalf of the Provost and himself. He spoke in favour of universal Peace, remarking that he was glad to see so many in Paisley sympathise with the movement, and trusted that they would interest themselves in the work and carry it on to a successful issue. If they did their best to promote the principles they advocated, and if everybody did the same thing, Peace would be established upon the earth.

On the motion of Councillor Kent, the speakers were thanked for their addresses, and the proceedings terminated.





SIR JOSEPH WHITWELL PEASE, BART., M.P.,
President of the Congress.

FOURTH SESSION.

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1901.

The Congress resumed its work in the St. Andrew's (Berkeley) Hall on Thursday morning at ten o'clock.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Sir JOSEPH W. PEASE, Bart, M.P., presided, and, on taking the chair, said: What I am going to say, I believe, is that in which all of us will agree—first, that we are not here to discuss any particular war, or the circumstances that led to it, or whether that war could be avoided. But we all believe there is a more excellent method of settling international differences than that of war; and none of us, looking back over the history of wars, can help coming to the same conclusion as Lord John Russell, who said that he had never known a war that could not have been avoided with tact and good temper. (Hear, hear.) Having got all that experience, we are here to try to make use of it. The preparations for war, the evils of large armies at home with nothing to occupy them when there is no war, the horrors of war, and the detrimental effect of the war spirit upon the nations of the world, are things we all feel, and we all wish to bring about a better state of things. There is no aspect of war on which we can look with satisfaction. Is it the economic aspect? All economy is against war. Is it the moral aspect? War is opposed to all morality. I saw with amazement in the papers the other day that in some Glasgow churches they were going to have sermons on the subject whether war was in accordance with Christianity. But surely we cannot take the Christian view of life, and yet

say that war is in accordance with the Spirit of Christ. Having always taken those three lines, I have been attached to the Peace Society. I was President of the Peace Society's meeting at the time of the Crimean War, and it was all I could do to get a hearing. Anybody who looks back at what that war cost, not only in money, but also in morals, in reputation, and at what it was for, and how far its object was gained, would say that it was a very great waste. That was a very good sample of other wars. They could have been done without, and a better result attained with less evil feeling. I want rather now to turn to the encouraging things in our position. I look upon war and the war spirit as lowering to the whole tone of society. The Jingo spirit is a devilish spirit—(applause)—and does away with what is most essential in the moral progress of nations, and that is the honour and sanctity of human life. (Hear, hear.) When once we begin to say that life is nothing on the battlefield, then we soon go on to say that it is worthless at home. The encouraging thing is the general feeling that begins to permeate society. I have been a good many years in the House of Commons, and I say that there is to-day a stronger feeling against war, even with a large Government majority promoting war, than there has ever been in that House since I have known it. (Cheers.) We may see this among ministers of religion too. My good friend Henry Richard used strong language regarding the Christian ministers. Now we have thousands of sermons being preached on behalf of Peace. Then we have that excellent meeting held here the other day, at which a very celebrated lawyer, Lord Alverstone, took the chair, on the question of International Law. That was a great step forward, and we have to thank Lord Alverstone and my friend the late Lord Herschell for what they did in endeavouring to bring about a Treaty of Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States—an effort that so nearly succeeded, and would have succeeded but for the system of voting in the American Senate. All these are good signs. It is a good sign that when we come into a great commercial city like this the Lord Provost and the Corporation should entertain this Congress in the municipal building. (Hear,

hear.) A better sign still is The Hague Conference, and it is good to see that day by day Great Powers have come to sign the Articles of the Convention. I trust that the principle of Arbitration will soon animate the civilised world. I have never given way to discouragement. Though it is difficult to reconcile our hopes with the aggregation of means for killing men who should be friends, yet the world is getting better, perhaps more rapidly than some of us think, and I hope those who are labouring for the cause of Peace will see this, and be of good hope. (Applause.)

LETTERS, ETC.

M. EMILE ARNAUD said that a number of encouraging letters had been received, including one from Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, who regretted that he was not able to attend the Congress, being detained by most urgent business. His Excellency wished to point out to the Congress, however, that the conclusion obtained at The Hague was almost a miracle. No one had thought that anything would come out of the Conference. Not only did it end favourably, but a permanent tribunal was constituted, and was now ready to work. He hoped that this tribunal would not be left in idleness, but would be called upon to help in the maintenance of Peace. A representative of the working men of France had written that they were at one with the Peace Societies in their efforts to maintain Peace and in their desire for Arbitration, and sending fraternal greetings to the working men of Great Britain. Letters had also been received from Signor E. T. Moneta; Señor Magalhaes de Lima, expressing the solidarity of the friends of Peace in Portugal; Signor Lago, who reported Peace work in New Pompei, South Italy; M. Hervieu, municipal *adjoint* at Bruges; Mr. Alfred H. Love, Dr. C. von Scherzer, Austrian Minister-Plenipotentiary, and others.

THE SERVICES OF M. DUCOMMUN.

Mr. J. F. GREEN called attention to a letter addressed by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, President of the International Peace and Arbitration Association, to the acting President of the

Congress, and circulated in printed form, on the subject of "the great and remarkable services rendered by M. Elie Ducommun, Hon. Secretary of the International Bureau of Peace." Mr. Pratt's letter is as follows :—

"At last year's Congress I mentioned the subject to several of our fellow-workers, with a view to immediate action, but I was advised not to take any steps until the present occasion, when our esteemed friend would have concluded his tenth year of valuable service on our behalf. It so happens that he is unavoidably absent from the Congress of 1901, and, greatly as that absence has to be regretted, it becomes more easy to take steps with a view to give concrete expression to those feelings of gratitude and admiration which are universally felt towards him.

"It may be well, perhaps, if I recall the circumstances which led to the constitution of the 'Permanent International Bureau of Peace.' It had long been the desire of the former President of the League of Peace and Liberty, M. Charles Lemonnier, that there should be some sort of federal union between all Peace Societies; and the subject of forming a central organisation for the movement was formally brought before the first Universal Peace Congress, held at Paris in 1889. It was felt that for the purpose of holding an annual congress, for the due preparation of its work, and for securing hearty co-operation between all Peace Societies and friends of our great cause, a central office was most necessary. Accordingly, at the Third Congress, held at Rome in 1891, a committee was appointed to carry out the formation of such a Bureau. Their first step was to find some one who would organise it and carry it on, and a colleague present, well known for his zeal and ability, was at once requested to undertake this onerous task. He consented, on the remarkable condition that he should receive no remuneration, and he at once commenced the important duties of his new office. M. Elie Ducommun was at that time, and is still, the Secretary of the Jura-Simplon Railway, at Berne, and his consent to undertake the organisation of the whole Peace movement in Europe meant the sacrifice, every week, of his entire leisure hours, so much needed by a man holding the important office just mentioned. The work of the new organisation commenced on the 1st December, 1891, and from that moment correspondence with societies and with individuals grew rapidly. A Library of Reference was formed, suggestions of great practical value were published and co-operation invited; and in a short time there was published a fortnightly record of information on all matters connected with the Peace Propaganda. In addition, there has been the frequent publication of Reports and Notes on questions relating to international relations. The result of this continuous education of opinion and interchange of views was a rapid and remarkable growth of societies, until there are now upwards of 400 groups of societies in Europe. In the Appendix to this letter I have given a summary of the main

functions of the Bureau, as proposed at the outset, but the work actually done has far exceeded what then was contemplated. All persons who have had occasion to seek information from the Bureau must have been struck with the remarkable promptitude and fulness of the information supplied.

"It has seemed to me necessary to call the attention of the workers in our great cause to the above facts, because some may have forgotten them, while others have joined the movement since the Bureau was first established. It is within the knowledge of all who have at any time attended our Congresses with what singular completeness and efficiency all the work is prepared, arranged, and recorded. Nothing is ever forgotten, provision is made for every difficulty, and all occasion for perplexity or confusion is obviated by the Hon. Secretary's tact, knowledge, and good temper. After a life's experience of committees and societies, I may declare that I have never known anyone who surpasses M. Ducommun as an organiser. May I also add that, in consequence of my residence at Lausanne for several winters, I had many opportunities of visiting the Bureau, and of conferring with our friend. Nothing impressed me more than the greatness of the personal sacrifice he has made, for the growth of the Peace movement has made demands upon his attention almost every day of every one of those ten years, so that his family have constantly lost the benefit of his society, and he himself that repose and refreshment of mind so sorely needed by one holding an important public office. It seems to me impossible to express the full extent of our obligation to this 'incomparable' man, as M. Frédéric Passy termed him last year at the Congress.

"And now comes the question which I respectfully submit. Ought we not to take this opportunity of expressing the profound esteem and affection which the whole body of Peacemakers must feel towards this excellent friend and brother? I venture to say that it would be a dereliction of duty to be silent in such a case, and I think we must all be anxious to say or do something which may for ever record, in a permanent and effective manner, the gratitude and regard which M. Elie Ducommun has earned among his fellow-men. How this may be done should, I suggest, be considered by a committee which, I hope, will be constituted on the first day of the Glasgow Congress, so that, if possible, some preliminary report may be made before the delegates separate."

Mr. J. F. GREEN said it was unnecessary to tell the Congress that the Berne Bureau would not have been what it had been if it had not had M. Ducommun as Hon. Secretary. Mr. Pratt suggested that a small committee should be formed by the Congress to consider and report. A motion would be brought forward later on.

Miss ELLEN ROBINSON suggested that the Organising

Committee and the Bureau Committee should nominate a committee at the next sitting of the Congress.

Mr. NEWMAN said he supported this suggestion.

The matter then dropped.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND JUSTICE.

M. EMILE ARNAUD then presented the Report of the Juridical Sub-committee of the International Peace Bureau. Speaking at length, in French, he said :—

“ I. The programme of every great party is at once positive and negative. The negative programme of Pacifism has been set forth at length in the speeches at the opening sittings ; it is anti-War-ism. Our business is to determine the positive part of the pacific programme, that is to say, the organisation of Peace. It will have as result the suppression of the necessity for war, and from the fact that it will no longer be possible for anyone to uphold this necessity, a considerable progress will be secured. The first *échelon* of the organisation of Peace is the international juridical order ; in other words, we must begin by establishing among nations bonds of law.

“ II. Law is law. When a principle is recognised as being a principle of law it cannot be said that it will only be ‘ of future law ’ and that it is not applicable to existing situations. We are not concerned here with positive laws applicable to individuals of a single nation, submissive to an imperfect right—which is only another thing for a common rule which must be obeyed even when it is bad (so that it recalls the maxim, *Dura lex, sed lex*)—we are concerned with natural law as it is recognised by thinkers, jurisconsults, philosophers, sanctioned by the universal conscience, law in which mutual respect is ‘ reposed ’ because to refuse to recognise it would bring down upon him who violated it universal condemnation and contempt and would justify all reprisals against him.

“ In the absence of positive international law, it is by the voluntary application of this right that certain Governments have merited the respect of others. It is the combination of these principles that constitutes civilisation, and it is by their application that a State classes itself among civilised States ; it is by their violation that it puts itself outside civilisation. . . .

“ In 1898, a large number of men and women of all countries, races, religions, languages, proclaimed at the Third Peace Congress, held in Rome, some of these principles as being at the base of the Law of Peoples. They were enounced in these terms :—

1. The relations of peoples are regulated by the same principles of law and morality as the relations of individuals.
2. Having no right to be its own judge, no State may declare war upon another.

3. Every difference between peoples should be settled by juridical methods.

4. The autonomy of every nation is inviolable.

5. There exists no right of conquest.

6. The peoples are bound (*solidaires*) one with another. They have, like individuals, the right of legitimate defence.

7. The peoples have the inalienable and imprescriptible right of freely disposing of themselves.

Since the Rome Congress, in other countries, at Berne as at Chicago, in Antwerp as in Buda Pesth, at Hamburg as in Paris, other men and women, of as different origins, have acclaimed the same truths, unanimously and without any protest being witnessed. Is there not here the characteristic, the *criterion* of the absolute truth? May we not say that these principles have thus passed the bar of the universal conscience and that violations of them must constitute a crime of *lèse-civilisation*? In sanctioning them anew in this country you will complete the work of the London Congress of 1890, where I had the pleasure and honour of obtaining a vote negating the 'right of war.' (Applause.)

"Since the vote of the Rome Congress it has been easy to declare that the pure and simple application of the principles I am recalling to you in all international questions imposes itself as the perfect solution. In these principles is found the Just; in their application is necessarily found the Useful. If you are asked some day on what foundations the international policy of a pacific State should rest, where are the primordial rules on which an arbiter should rely, which should enlighten the conscience of international judges, at The Hague or elsewhere, do not hesitate to recall the "bases of the law of peoples" recalled in the preliminary clause of our code, and to the rules arising therefrom contained in Clause I. of the International Code adopted by the Congresses. . . .

"III. Without wishing to make ourselves our own judges, which would be to claim a right that we refuse to States, it is our duty to do what we can to get others to do us justice. To this end the Juridical Sub-Committee has noted for your sanction certain facts. The first is this: The reproach addressed to the friends of Peace of being, by reason of that fact, anti-patriots has no foundation. In fact, those have always been considered the best patriots who have worked in an effective manner for the security of their country. But what is that but, by the most proper and certain means, to safeguard it from war? Is it not clearly proved to-day that, whatever be the conditions at the outset of a war, though there be not a button lacking, yet war may be for the party which makes it a cause of ruin, misery, decadence, and sometimes even of annihilation? To ward off this danger while securing a country in respect for its rights, to prevent this misfortune by the very fact of assuring one's neighbour reciprocally of respect for his rights—is this not to contribute effectively to the security of one's country, to give

proof of the purest patriotism, in the truest sense that can be given to the word. The second truth is that from the international point of view disarmament is not considered by us as a means but as a consequence, a result. It is from different points of view that we consider disarmament; its economic and humanitarian consequences are interesting to each national group of peace-workers, because they are an element in propaganda, and also because their exposition proves that we have studied the consequences of the reforms we propose. But the organisation of Peace has for its end the application to nations of a system of justice destined to resolve international conflicts. Just as the organisation of personal justice preceded the suppression of violence as the sole method of solving quarrels among men; just as the habit of appealing to the law courts has grown step by step and rapidly; just as repressive penal measures have only been gradually taken or applied; in the same way the peoples and Governments will and can renounce the employment of force only when a juridical solution of international conflicts shall have been established and accepted. The reduction of armaments will come about as a consequence of the reciprocal confidence that will be established; the hardest or the wisest will commence, the others will follow from faith or necessity. Defensive forces will alone remain useful; the limitation of armaments will come about of itself, without any coercion. Disarmament partial, but on a very large scale, will be effected. Coercive measures may then be decided upon and applied if there is need, whether as sanction for the establishment of an obligatory system of justice, or as a measure of police or public force, to ensure the execution of judicial decisions, that is to say, to accomplish the acts necessary to this execution which are juridical acts and not acts of war.

"The organisation of justice among individuals and its organisation among nations are in absolute correlation. Order among citizens is assured, though the organisation of justice among nations has yet to be perfected. This work will accomplish a double evolution: on the one hand, the application to nations of the system already applied to individuals; on the other hand, the perfection of two systems of justice, simultaneous at the beginning and afterwards reacting favourably and rapidly upon each other. Whether among individuals or nations, to work for Peace is to work for Justice, and to work for Justice is to work for Peace. By liberty one prepares justice and peace, by peace and justice one prepares liberty. We must work for Peace with the determination not to sacrifice the least particle of law, justice, and liberty.

"IV. The work of The Hague Conference was studied at the Paris Congress of 1900. This Congress declared, in its resolutions, how far the results had surpassed our hopes. 'The work at The Hague,' Baron d'Estournelles wrote to us, 'has been a veritable *tour de force*, almost

a miracle. It was condemned in advance as certain to end miserably in confusion, impotence, and discord. And yet it resulted, against every expectation, against every probability, in the constitution of a Permanent Court of Arbitration. . . . It has done still more in our belief; it proclaimed the solidarity that unites the members of the society of civilised nations and it adopted a large number of declarations which increase substantially the domain of positive international law. The preamble of its *acte finale* and of the Convention for the pacific settlement of international conflicts proves that war is not necessary, and they have begun the organisation of Peace. It is the partial realisation of the positive programme of pacifism.

"But it must not be a part of the world only that reaps the benefits of this work; since the way it points out is good, all peoples ought to follow it. Without waiting longer all The Hague Conventions should be open, so that all States may declare their adherence. But for that it is necessary that the signatory leaders should respectively notify their willingness and should not put any condition upon such adhesion.

"No longer should this work remain a dead letter, and for that end it must be completed. Recourse to justice in international disputes must be rendered obligatory, permanent treaties being concluded between people and people creating a universal network of obligatory arbitration.

"This is particularly the place to reply once more to the most general reproach formulated against The Hague Conference: that of not being able or shown how to prevent the South African War. The solution of the conflict between Great Britain and the Transvaal was not the aim of the Conference; its mission was a work of the future. Its initiator and the Government of the Netherlands, which issued the invitations, thought rightly that present difficulties should not be allowed to prove an obstacle to the meeting, that the formal reserve of the British Government so far as regards the South African conflict, regrettable as it was, might and ought to be accepted if the refusal of acceptance on its part might result in check to the work. If the Conference had concluded a general treaty of obligatory arbitration it would have been different, but for such a treaty a long preparation was necessary. This preparation the Conference made. It remains then to accomplish two essential things: to obtain the diplomatic or juridical solution of existing conflicts, and to procure the conclusion of the general arbitration treaty, which may be the result of a new Conference, or may result from particular Conventions, in conformity with the provisions of Article 19. It is this latter work that we can more particularly aid, and it is to this end that the Juridical Sub-Committee of the International Bureau prepared a draft treaty of permanent arbitration between State and State, adequate for the purpose of The Hague Convention, and submitting litigation to the Permanent Court."

THE HAGUE CONVENTIONS.—PERMANENT OBLIGATORY
ARBITRATION.

Having referred briefly to statements by M. de Montluc and Baron d'Estournelles, M. Arnaud concluded by moving the following propositions:—

[ENGLISH.]

" I. The Tenth Universal Peace Congress strongly protests against the accusation of anti-patriotism which is often brought against the members of Peace Societies. By their endeavours in their own country to prevent war, the friends of Peace do more than anybody else for its security.

" The Congress declares that it considers disarmament a result of the organisation of Peace rather than a means of arriving at Peace. It is convinced that the application to the nations of a system of justice calculated to settle international disputes in a pacific manner will necessarily and normally lead to a progressive and simultaneous reduction of armaments, which are a burden on all countries.

" The Congress is of opinion that the existence and, above all, the employment of The Hague Tribunal, and also the adoption of permanent treaties of arbitration with a view to rendering more effective the Convention for the pacific regulation of international conflicts, are calculated to bring about this result."

" II. The Congress trusts that all the Conventions adopted at The Hague may be declared open to all, in order that any Power may adhere to them without conditions. It thanks the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau for the desire expressed by it in this sense at its meetings at Brussels, and, with a view to its attainment, counts on the action of each of the members of that Bureau in relation to his own Government and in his own Parliament."

" III. This Congress notes with lively satisfaction the definite constitution of The Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration, which marks an important step in the Peace movement.

" The Congress congratulates the Governments on having created this institution, which destroys the last arguments for the necessity of war. It confidently hopes that in future every international difference which shall not have been settled by diplomacy, or by the other pacific methods indicated in The Hague Convention, will be submitted to the Arbitration of the Hague Court."

" IV. Whereas Article 19 of The Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of international difficulties contemplates the conclusion, 'either before or after the ratification' of the Convention, of 'new agreements, general or particular, with the object of extending obligatory arbitration to all cases which they judge capable of being submitted to it.' :—

"The Congress recommends the Peace Societies to promote the conclusion of Permanent Arbitration Treaties providing for the submission to the arbitration of The Hague Court of any difference which may not have been otherwise amicably settled.

"The Congress hopes that such Treaties may be forthwith concluded between the following States, which have been pointed out as already in a position to agree to them:—(1) Between the nineteen Republics of America, whose representatives are to meet next month in Mexico; (2) between France and Great Britain; (3) between Great Britain and the United States; (4) between Russia and France; and between any other States whose existing relations favour the conclusion of such Treaties."

[FRENCH.]

I. Le 10^e Congrès universel de la Paix proteste avec énergie contre l'accusation d'anti-patriotisme qui est fréquemment adressée aux membres des Sociétés de la Paix. En s'efforçant d'éviter la guerre à leur propre pays, les Pacifistes travaillent mieux que quiconque à sa sécurité.

Le Congrès déclare qu'il considère le désarmement comme un résultat de l'organisation de la Paix, plutôt que comme un moyen d'arriver à la Paix. Il est convaincu que l'application aux nations d'un système de justice de nature à résoudre pacifiquement les conflits internationaux conduira nécessairement et normalement à une réduction progressive et simultanée des armements qui pèsent sur toutes les nations.

Le Congrès estime que l'existence et surtout l'usage de la Cour de La Haye, ainsi que la signature de traités d'arbitrage permanents destinés à rendre encore plus efficace la Convention pour le règlement pacifique des conflits internationaux, sont de nature à amener ce résultat.

II. Le Congrès exprime le vœu que les Conventions de la Haye soient déclarées ouvertes, afin que toute puissance puisse y adhérer sans condition. Il remercie le Bureau inter-parlementaire du vœu qu'il a émis en ce sens dans la réunion de Bruxelles et compte, pour aboutir, sur l'action de chacun des membres de ce Bureau auprès de son gouvernement et dans son propre parlement.

III. Le Congrès constate avec une vive satisfaction la constitution définitive de la Cour permanente d'arbitrage de la Haye, qui marque une étape importante dans le mouvement pacifique.

Le Congrès félicite les Gouvernements de s'être donné cette institution, qui détruit les derniers arguments en faveur de la nécessité de la guerre. Il a le ferme espoir qu'à l'avenir tout différend international—qui ne serait pas réglé soit par voie diplomatique, soit par les autres moyens pacifiques préconisés par la Convention de La Haye,—sera soumis à l'arbitrage de la Cour de La Haye.

IV.—Considérant que l'article 19 de la Convention pour le règlement pacifique des conflits internationaux prévoit la conclusion, "Soit

avant la ratification de cette Convention, soit postérieurement, d'accords nouveaux, généraux ou particuliers, en vue d'étendre l'arbitrage obligatoire à tous les cas qu'elles jugeront possible de lui soumettre," le Congrès recommande aux Sociétés de la Paix de poursuivre la conclusion de traités d'arbitrage permanent prescrivant l'obligation de soumettre à l'arbitrage de la Cour de La Haye tout différend qui n serait pas résolu à l'amiable.

Le Congrès espère que de tels traités seront conclus incessamment entre les Etats ci-après, qui sont signalés comme étant en mesure de le faire, savoir :

- 1. Entre les 19 Républiques américaines, dont les représentants doivent se réunir le mois prochain à Mexico ;*
- 2. Entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne ;*
- 3. Entre la Grande-Bretagne et les Etats-Unis ;*
- 4. Entre la Russie et la France,*

Et entre tous autres Etats dont les relations actuelles favorisent la conclusion de ces Traités.

Mr. J. G. ALEXANDER, in seconding the resolutions, said these were the result of various propositions the Commission had had before it. On the subject of the fourth motion a difference of opinion had arisen, but he thought it was due, to some extent, to a confusion of terms. Mr. Barclay, who initiated the movement for a treaty between Great Britain and France, had not, he was sure, the slightest idea, and the Lord Chief Justice, who spoke on the question at the International Law Conference, had no idea, of doing anything that could discredit, or tend to set aside, The Hague Convention and Tribunal. He had taken counsel with some of those who had taken a critical line on the matter, and he thought he could say that upon the wording now offered a substantial agreement had been arrived at. He was himself of opinion that the Tribunal contemplated by the unratified Anglo-American Treaty could have been used under The Hague Convention.

Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES said the important question was, How was The Hague Convention to be safeguarded against any proposal to make use of arrangements outside it? He suggested an addition to Resolution II., embodying an invitation to the Governments of all countries to adopt The Hague Conventions, these being declared open to all States without reserve.

M. ARNAUD said he was willing to adopt the first part of the suggestion ; but as to the phrase about the Conventions being open to all States unconditionally, he must point out that a special clause was inserted in the Arbitration Convention declaring that other nations would be admitted only on special conditions.

The Rev. WALTER WALSH (Dundee) supported Mr. Moscheles' suggestion.

Mr. G. H. PERRIS (London) said he happened to have the clause about subsequent admission of signatories, and he did not think it quite bore out the contention which he understood M. Arnaud to offer, or that it constituted any objection to Mr. Moscheles' proposal. It read thus :

“LX.—The conditions on which the Powers who were not represented at the International Peace Conference can adhere to the present Convention shall form the subject of a subsequent agreement among the Contracting Powers.”

It would be remembered that this was the critical point raised by the demands for an open door for the Papacy and the Boer Republics. So far as was known no “subsequent agreement” had yet been arrived at by the “Contracting Powers”; and it was, therefore, quite open to the Congress to recommend the Powers to throw the Convention open without conditions.

The amendment was modified and adopted in the following form :—

[ENGLISH.]

II. The Conference is of opinion that The Hague Conventions should be declared open, so that every Power can adopt them without conditions. It urges the Governments of all countries to adhere to them unreservedly forthwith. It thanks the Inter-Parliamentary, etc. (original motion).

[FRENCH.]

II. Le Congrès exprime le vœu que les Conventions de la Haye soient déclarées ouvertes, afin que toute puissance puisse y entrer sans condition ; il engage les Gouvernements de tous les pays à y adhérer ensuite sans réserve. Il remercie . . . (texte primitif).

THE REFUSAL OF ARBITRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. W. T. STEAD (London) rose, and was received with cheers, when

Mr. T. P. NEWMAN said : Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. I ask that the amendment may be read.

The PRESIDENT : That is not a point of order.

Mr. STEAD : I will read it. I wish to recall this Congress, which has a great historical past, to practical questions of the immediate moment. (Applause.) I have drawn up a resolution which I want to submit to the meeting, and which will go directly to the heart of the matter. It is easy to lead a horse to the water—one man can do that; but a thousand men cannot make that horse drink. The Hague Conference led the nations to the stream of arbitration. It depends upon us whether they shall be induced to drink. All the general resolutions addressed to Governments are of practically no use at all. What we have to do is to appeal to the peoples. The resolution I shall propose is practical and definite, and endeavours to give point to M. Arnaud's speech. We don't want namby-pamby resolutions affirming things. (Hear, hear.) You may affirm a thousand times, but that is not enough. My proposition follows on the lines of the resolutions of the Rome Congress. It is necessary that when nations go against the sentiment of the civilised world, there should be an explosion of pacific sentiment. (Hear, hear.) I see precious little explosion here; and if a Peace Congress will not explode, how do you think the general public will do so? (Laughter.) I propose to add some explosive matter to the resolutions by moving the following addendum :—

The Hague Conference having recommended four different methods of avoiding war—which are, first, mediation; second, international commission of inquiry; third, special commissions; and fourth, arbitration pure and simple—the Congress declares that any State by refusing to adopt any one of them when proffered by its opponent loses its right to be regarded as a civilised Power. In such a country, excommunicate of humanity, the Congress is of opinion that while the war lasts no public religious service of any kind should be held that is not opened by a confession of blood-guiltiness on the part of that nation,

and closed by a solemn appeal on the part of the congregation to the Government to stop the war by the application of The Hague methods. (Cheers.)

Some of you may say I am going too far, but the power of a Conference like this depends upon its fidelity to principle. This amendment is based on the very simple and fundamental principle that no person with his hands dripping with his neighbour's blood unjustly shed should go before his God and ask a blessing. (Applause.) I shall not go into details. The question of Christianity and war has been discussed here. I do not say a word about that. The main facts are plain and clear—that at the present moment we are at war, and at war as a direct consequence of the fact that we returned haughty and repeated refusals to repeated applications to refer the questions in dispute to arbitration. I say nothing now about the merits of the war. Apart from them, even if we are absolutely right and President Kruger was absolutely wrong, when he implored that the question should be submitted to arbitration we indignantly refused the request; and I say that upon our heads lies the curse of civilisation and humanity—(cheers)—and on our conscience lies the responsibility for the blood of those—our men and the others—who have died in South Africa. Perhaps to-morrow we shall read another telegram from Lord Kitchener announcing another “good bag”—(“Shame!”)—and yet we call ourselves a Christian nation! In the words of President Steyn, which Mr. Fischer showed me, “This war we are waging for arbitration. If you offer arbitration, if you will refer the question from the beginning to any impartial judges, we will lay down our arms and undertake to accept the verdict, even to the giving up of our national independence. But as long as you refuse we shall go on fighting.” These men are defending the principles we are met to defend, and they deserve that we should do for them what we can to secure arbitration. (Cheers.) What is the good of the resolutions passed at The Hague when not one of us has the heart of a mouse to say “Damn! damn!! damn!!!” on all people who carry on war and bring down the curse of God on our heads? England at the present moment is engaged in a war that makes us in

a real sense excommunicate of humanity. Remember the words of the Prophet: "When you stretch out your hands to me, I will hide my eyes. I will not hear you. Your hands are full of blood." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. THOMAS WRIGHT (Birmingham) seconded Mr. Stead's "amendment." He said they would incur a very great responsibility if they kept their mouths closed on the question of who was responsible for the war. It was imperative to cry out against this monstrous iniquity. (Hear, hear.) England had fallen, and in presence of Dr. Trueblood, he must add that America had also fallen in late years. If there was to be peace in South Africa there must be a permanent and solid settlement, and unless arbitration still took place under just and fair conditions, there would be nothing but strife and hatred everlastingly.

Dr. W. EVANS DARBY said: I am quite sure you will sympathise when I say that, although for many years I have been speaking for Peace, I never felt a greater difficulty in addressing an audience than now. My views are well known on this subject. I yield to no man in the strength of my convictions, not only on war in general, but on this particular war. Our friend Mr. Stead has "exploded." I want to appeal to the Congress not to explode, but to keep quiet and act with dignity. (Applause.) I want to put before you an example that has already done more on behalf of Peace than, perhaps, anything during the Congress meetings—the example of Mme. Waszkiewicz, when she said: "My feelings on the subject of the war are so strong that I dare not trust myself to speak on the subject, and therefore I content myself by merely expressing the good wishes of the friends of Peace in Holland." That speech was more eloquent than pouring out words for an hour would have been. (Hear, hear.) Speech is silvern, silence is golden. Our opinions on the war are well known. Is it necessary like a virago in the street to vituperate and use strong words? I think not. I think the more dignified and calm our words are, the more effective they will be. I have two objections to Mr. Stead's amendment. In the first place it is not the way of Peace. Do you think we shall do anything towards settlement of the

war in South Africa by using strong words, and under the terms of a general resolution saying what is said there about the country? We have to win over our countrymen, and do you think we shall do that by simply fighting them? There is a way of Peace, and I remember the words of our veteran friend near me (M. Passy): "We want Peace in the means as well as in the ends"—not only the objects of Peace, but the method of Peace. Beyond doubt we all have strong feelings on the war, but is it necessary that everything we feel should be put into words? I have a second objection. We have not met for the purpose of discussing the war in South Africa—(hear, hear)—and some of us are here on that understanding. (Hear, hear.) There is a place for party discussion, and in the proper place I should be prepared to take my part in that discussion, but this is not the proper place. We are not met in this Congress to explode or to make war on certain things upon which there are strong differences of opinion among ourselves. I have no right to *force* anyone to submit to my views. This proposition simply makes us ridiculous before the nations. "Excommunicate of humanity!" What nonsense! (Laughter and "Hear, hear.") Are we to appeal to the exploded and obsolete instrument of the Church and excommunicate those who differ from us? Are we to go back to the methods of the Middle Ages to put down our political opponents? Mr. Stead cannot mean that; he has too much common-sense. While I feel as strongly as he does, I have felt it my duty to say this, and to say it now. (Hear, hear.)

Professor QUIDDE (Munich) expressed gratitude to Mr. Stead for having recognised that this Peace Congress ought to deal with the question of the Transvaal War. A part of the English Press had represented the expression of opinion and the campaign on behalf of the Boers in Germany as being inspired by a feeling of Anglophobia. That was false. There were, of course, Anglophobists in Germany, but the German people were not actuated by any general dislike or antagonism toward Great Britain. On the contrary, they recognised that Great Britain was the birthplace of civil and popular liberty. They knew it had been the asylum of

political and religious refugees from all parts of the world, and German reformers had always quoted the example of England as one to be followed in Germany. The British Constitution was recognised as the model for others. English literature had permeated the educated classes in Germany, where it was as well known as in England. Shakespeare's plays were as frequently performed in Germany as in England. It was preposterous, therefore, to say that a strong Anglophobia existed in Germany. At the same time they felt compelled to recognise that the Government of England had acted in a very reprehensible manner in refusing Arbitration. He could not vote for the proposition as it stood—though he might do so if it related to action of the German Government—but he could do so if it simply expressed regret at the refusal of Arbitration. If they voted for Mr. Stead's proposition, the foreign delegates would be accused of fulminating against the Government of a country whose hospitality they were enjoying. Nor could they vote for it without incurring a suspicion of hypocrisy. Many foreign Governments would commit similar crimes if they had similar opportunities, and they must not be too ready to throw stones. (Applause.)

Mr. STEAD said the terms of his motion had been misunderstood. It did not condemn the British Government—it did not name it. It stated a general principle which was applicable to all Governments which refuse Arbitration.

M. FRÉDÉRIC PASSY agreed with Mr. Stead that the refusal of Arbitration should be condemned. He suggested that the motion should be cut in two, and that the first part dealing with the refusal of Arbitration should be put to the vote by itself in the first place.

Dr. CLARK moved that the Congress should adjourn for lunch.

The PRESIDENT said it appeared to him that the motion would not help the cause they were met there to help. The main resolutions under consideration dealt generally with Arbitration and The Hague Tribunal. What was a country "excommunicate of humanity"?

Mr. STEAD said he was ready to omit the words "excommunicate of humanity" if desired. (Hear, hear.)



MEMBERS OF THE TENTH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS. GLASGOW, 1901.

The PRESIDENT, continuing, said they should not commit themselves to random words. Who was going to declare a country "not civilised"? Were the other Governments?

Mr. STEAD said the resolution of the Rome Congress did so.

The PRESIDENT asked how any of them were going to prevent any congregation from having public prayers. He would ask one who was doing a great work not to damage that work by rather wild assertions which would only bring The Hague Convention into disrepute.

The Congress adjourned at 12.30 a.m., when a photograph was taken of the members.

FIFTH SESSION.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1901.

On re-assembling, at two o'clock, for the afternoon Session the discussion was resumed.

Mrs. MEAD said that as an American she sympathised heartily with the general feeling of Mr. Stead, realising as she did the bloodguiltiness of her own country in the Philip-pines. But she did not think it was at all necessary to explode or to "damn" any one, or make any one "damn" them. It was useless to indulge in those vituperative expressions of two hundred years ago (Laughter.) They must remember that they should love their enemies, even if they were political opponents. She would remind Mr. Stead of the words of Russell Lowell:—

He goes furthest who goes just far enough,
And all beyond that is pure pother and stuff.

(Laughter.) But she agreed that they should not be namby-pamby. This was not an English question at all—it was a universal question. The American people were just as guilty as any other—perhaps a little more so since they had first sinned in this direction, and they had higher ideals. She moved that the latter part of Mr. Stead's amendment, relating to the Churches, should be entirely omitted, and that after the words "proffered by its opponents," it should read—"has forfeited one of the primary claims to be regarded as a civilised nation; and that every citizen who consents to such a position on the part of his Government shares in the guilt of the war which may ensue." (Applause.)

Mrs. BYLES said she was rejoiced to hear that speech come from the lips of a distinguished citizen of the United

States. That Congress would have lost its driving-power if it could not declare its conviction that any nation which persists in refusing Arbitration violates the principles of civilisation, and deserves to be drummed out of the comity of nations. (Applause.) The Congress had no legislative power, but that made it all the more essential to use what moral power it had. It was a mere quibble to say that the Boers could not claim the rights of signatories of The Hague Convention, since they were deliberately excluded. She reminded the Congress, as there was some confusion of memory as to the past, that it was in June, 1899, that the Transvaal offered Arbitration of all differences to be submitted to the two Chief Justices in South Africa and the Lord Chief Justice in England. We refused, and thereby earned the contempt and hatred of all civilised nations. In an even more recent war other nations had shared in the bloodguiltiness. She was content to accept their verdict, but she felt they had the right to condemn any country which violated its solemn pledges. She begged none to vote against this resolution because it condemned the South African War. Arbitration was the soul of their movement. The nations which most solemnly pledged themselves to Arbitration at The Hague must stand before this modest Tribunal to be judged thereby. She thought in the matter of the Churches they should let them speak for themselves. There were bright exceptions in every Church, but most seemed to have worshipped a savage deity whom they call the God of Battles. She seconded Mrs. Mead's amendment.

Mrs. BRADLAUGH BONNER rose to a point of order, whether they could vote on an amendment to an amendment.

The PRESIDENT said it seemed convenient to follow M. Passy's suggestion. The motions would be dealt with as a whole when the amendments were disposed of.

Dr. DABBY said that the new form substituted for Mr. Stead's resolution removed every difficulty he had felt in regard to the original motion. It was now in a form he could accept most heartily, and their objections were quite removed thereby.

Mr. WALTER WALSH asked whether Mr. Stead's motion was still before the meeting.

The PRESIDENT : Yes.

Mr. WALTER WALSH wished to know whether Mr. Stead agreed to the alteration.

The PRESIDENT replied that Mr. Stead was not in the meeting. He had to do with the resolution before the meeting in the form that expressed the views of those who had spoken to the resolution.

The amendment to Mr. Stead's resolution was then put and carried, and it was then adopted as a substantive motion in the following form :—

[ENGLISH.]

The Hague Conference having recommended four different methods of avoiding war, which are : first, mediation ; second, international commissions of enquiry ; third, special commissions ; and fourth, arbitration ; the Congress declares that any State by refusing to adopt any one of them when proffered by its opponent forfeits one of the primary claims to be regarded as a civilized nation ; and that every citizen who consents to such a position on the part of his Government shares in the guilt of the war that may ensue.

[FRENCH.]

La Conférence de La Haye ayant recommandé quatre méthodes différentes pour mettre fin à la guerre, le Congrès déclare que tout Etat qui refuse d'adopter une de celles-ci lorsqu'elle lui est offerte par son adversaire, forfait à l'une des règles les plus élémentaires que doit observer une nation civilisée, et que tout citoyen qui approuve, dans ce cas, l'attitude de son Gouvernement, partage la responsabilité de la guerre qui peut s'ensuivre.

DISCUSSION RESUMED ON CLAUSE II.

Mr. W. P. BYLES : I now propose to go back to the second clause of the first proposition of the Commission on International Law. It will be seen that the Commission proposes to throw a slight upon those who desire to bring about the disarmament of nations, by suggesting or stating in this resolution that disarmament is "a result of the organisation of Peace rather than a means of arriving at Peace." I have long held that the nations of Europe should go to disarmament as a means of arriving at Peace. (Applause.) I do not, therefore, feel I can vote for this resolution in the present form. I propose to alter "rather than" to "as

well as." I believe, Sir, that the very existence of these huge armaments leads the nations into war. Every battleship you destroy and every gun you disable makes war more impossible. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN MATHER seconded the amendment. The same difficulty had occurred to him, and he was glad so sagacious a man as Mr. W. P. Byles had brought the matter to their notice.

M. EMILE ARNAUD could not accept the amendment as proposed by Mr. Byles. After many years' experience by the Berne Bureau, this resolution was brought forward. Disarmament could not be regarded as a means of securing Peace; and to say that it was at once a result and a means would be to teach an error of law, and therefore, of fact. This error would constitute a danger to our propaganda, and the resolution was intended to combat it. It was impossible to propose disarmament. (A Delegate: "Pooh, pooh!") They must first propose something which would take the place of armaments. As long as nations existed as independent nations, difficulties would arise, and there must be some means of settling them. Hitherto war had been the means. They could not do away with war unless they had some other mechanism instead of war. Therefore he maintained that disarmament was the logical consequence and result of establishing International Justice, Arbitration—International Law, in a word. It would, indeed, be anti-patriotic that one nation should lay itself open to the attacks of its neighbours by disarming and disarming alone. There must be some means of organising Peace and making armaments unnecessary. To satisfy all, this legal conviction was not put in such an emphatic manner as now expressed. He hoped Mr. Byles would withdraw his amendment.

Mr. MOSCHELES warmly supported Mr. Byles' amendment. They all thought both things were good, and could be worked concurrently; and if such an expression as "rather than" were put forth, it would discourage, and people would think it useless to work for disarmament. (Applause.)

M. GASTON MOCH said that the question of disarmament was an ever-recurring monster whose heads as fast as they

were lopped grew up again. They had had the legal aspect ; he would now speak from a military point of view. Napoleon III. had the idea of convoking a conference for this purpose. Nicholas II. had had the same idea, and had convoked one. All these, and M. Bloch himself, were in error. Nations did not disarm, because they were afraid of each other. France was afraid of Germany, Germany of France ; France was afraid of England, and was building submarine boats to keep the English ships off the French coasts. He would be a bad citizen who would expose his country to invasion. Disarmament would be the spontaneous result of a feeling of security arising from the habit of resorting to conventions for the settlement of disputes. They could not put the cart before the horse. They must establish their tribunals first. Disarmament would follow.

The amendment was put, and lost by 105 votes to 76.

Mr. W. T. STEAD, who had just entered the Congress Hall, explained that he had been detained at the Exhibition. "You have," he said, "carried the sum and substance of my amendment with alterations to suit yourselves. I am delighted to know that in this Conference there is no one able to vote against saying that the nation which refuses Arbitration 'has forfeited its claim to be considered a civilised country.' You objected to the phrase 'excommunicate of humanity.' That was picturesque and forcible, but the phrase matters nothing. The resolution says that any nation which acts as we have acted forfeits a primary claim to be regarded as civilised. I am assured the amendment was carried. The last clause of my amendment recommended that religious services should be opened by a confession of sin and closed by a demand that war should cease. I am sorry you don't like it, but I shall not insist, and I accept the amendment."

A DELEGATE : I protest against Mr. Stead's claim that the Congress endorsed his remarks.

There being no other amendments, the whole of the resolutions were put *en bloc* and carried.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR.

M. PRUDHOMMEAUX, of the Association de la Paix par le Droit, one of the reporters of Commission C, said that this subject was so complex he could not attempt to explain it fully in a speech. He represented an Association which had charged him to introduce the motion in favour of organising a Committee to enquire into the economic causes which lead to war. They must admit the important part these had in bringing about war. Even formerly the dynastic wars had economic causes as their basis more than was recognised. The war in Andalusia was based on the desire of plundering the wealthy towns in the South of France. So it was in the Crusades. Nowadays this was more than ever the case; for instance, in the American Civil War, the struggle was based on the idea that cotton could not be produced without slave labour. If economics were put in opposition to morality, it was always morality that would go down. Therefore they should inquire into the subject. They would then strengthen the Peace movement and find many allies who were not members of Peace Societies. The complaint had been made that the Peace Societies kept themselves too much to themselves. There were other friends of Peace besides those who belonged to Peace Societies. Property, again, tended to change. It was no longer individual as it used to be, but was more and more collective. Nations possessed shares of property in other nations, and this was an economic effect which influenced the questions of war and Peace. Trade was a natural ally of Peace. For these reasons the Berne Bureau should be requested to form a Commission instructed to enquire into these questions and their influence on Peace and War. Secondly, he would consider the bearing of the question on the agitation against war, especially as affecting Colonial expansion. Consumption and production were not regulated; there was no organised method of seeing that production corresponded to the needs of population. This was one of the prominent causes of war. In one country they produced more than they wanted, there was consequently a glut in the market; that led them to want larger

markets; and this led on to jealousy and war. Consumption, too, was not organised properly. Some had the money to purchase more than they could consume. Others had not money enough to purchase the bare means of existence. That led to co-operation, which was a better way of distributing the products. Co-operators were friends of Peace. He quoted the names and speeches of prominent co-operators, and said that at their Congresses resolutions were passed in favour of Arbitration. In the Co-operative Alliance of England they would find good allies in the struggle against war. He proposed:—

[ENGLISH.]

A. The Congress instructs the Berne Bureau to constitute a technical Committee chosen from among pacific economists, and charged to raise every year one of the economic or social aspects of the international problem.

B. The Congress invites the friends of Peace to favour in their respective countries Co-operation by all means in their power. It authorises the Berne Bureau to transmit this decision to the various national and international Co-operative Congresses.

[FRENCH.]

A. Le Congrès donne mission au Bureau de Berne de constituer une commission technique choisie parmi les économistes pacifiques et chargée de mettre chaque année en lumière un des aspects économiques ou sociaux du problème international.

B. Le Congrès invite les amis de la paix à favoriser, dans leurs pays respectifs, la coopération par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir. Il donne mandat au Bureau de Berne de transmettre cette décision aux divers congrès coopératifs nationaux et internationaux.

Mr. G. H. PERRIS, as reporter to Commission C, said that they had had before them a lengthy communication from M. Jean de Bloch, and had drawn up a resolution upon that base. M. de Bloch's essay had been circulated in the Congress, and the text of the resolution had been in print before them for two days. It was a subject to which some of them had given special study, and on which many interesting, not to say enlightening and important, things could be said. But as he felt that a good deal of time had already been expended in general eloquence, he would only explain that one or two verbal amendments had been made in the text of the motion

as printed—the most important being the omission of the phrase declaring that famine resulting in waste on armaments might culminate in revolution—and unless some criticisms or opposition were offered he would ask the President to put the resolution, which was as follows :—

[ENGLISH.]

Considering that the events of the South African War entirely confirm the predictions of many eminent soldiers that the improvements effected in modern arms have tended to produce a deadlock in the art of war ;

Considering that the events of that war confirm these authorities in their predictions that these improvements—that is to say, the small-bore rifle, smokeless powder, and perfected field entrenchments—have so much changed the art of fighting in favour of the defensive that a war between the approximately equal Powers, or combinations of Powers, which at present exist in Europe, could have no decisive result, and that war could only be ended by the exhaustion of the combatants ;

Considering that as a consequence of this revolution, the future war must be very prolonged, and that in view of the dependence of the European nations upon oversea supplies of food, of the scarcity of money, the depreciation of the workers' wages, and the loss of savings which the Governments have squandered upon armaments, famine must result ;

Considering that neither the Governments nor the military caste are willing on their own initiative to help to elucidate these problems, but that, on the contrary, experience shows that great opposition will be met with from the military and governing classes ;

Considering that there are few means so effective for spreading a belief in the necessity of Peace as by impressing upon the masses of the people that war under modern conditions is both impossible and unprofitable ;

Considering that such a belief is likely to be established as the result of impartial enquiry in which not only soldiers but also politicians, economists, merchants, and statisticians should take part ;

The Congress regards it as of great importance that a propaganda should be created in all countries by means of lectures, articles in the Press, etc. It hears with gratitude that M. de Bloch is anxious to aid such a propaganda, and it recommends the Societies of all countries to avail themselves of his assistance.

[FRENCH.]

Considérant que le développement de la guerre sud-africaine confirme les prédictions de nombreux et éminents officiers, qui annonçaient que les récents perfectionnements des armes à feu transformeraient profondément l'art de la guerre ;

Considérant en particulier que, entre autres prédictions ainsi réalisées, les fusils de petit calibre, la poudre sans fumée, et les perfectionnements de la fortification passagère ont tellement agi en faveur de la défensive, qu'une guerre entre nations ou entre alliances sensiblement équivalentes, telles qu'il en existe actuellement en Europe, ne pourrait avoir aucun résultat décisif et ne se terminerait que par l'épuisement des combattants ;

Considérant qui par suite de cette révolution, une guerre future serait de fort longue durée, et que la famine générale ne manquerait pas de s'ensuivre, en raison de la dépendance réciproque des nations européennes au point de vue des approvisionnements qu'elles reçoivent d'outre-mer, comme en raison de la rareté du numéraire, de la réduction des salaires, de la perte des réserves du capital que les gouvernements auront dissipées en armements ;

Considérant que ni les gouvernements ni la caste militaire ne sont disposés à aider spontanément à l'étude de ces problèmes, mais que l'expérience montre, au contraire, que l'on doit s'attendre à une grande opposition de la part des militaires et des classes dirigeantes ;

Considérant qu'il existe peu de moyens aussi efficaces de répandre la croyance dans la nécessité de la paix que de faire comprendre aux masses populaires que la guerre, dans les conditions modernes, est à la fois impossible et sans profit ;

Considérant que cette croyance résultera vraisemblablement d'une enquête impartiale, à laquelle prendraient part, non seulement des militaires, mais encore des hommes d'Etat, des économistes, des négociants et des statisticiens ;

Le Congrès estime qu'il est de la plus haute importance d'instituer en tous pays, à ce sujet, une propagande au moyen de conférences, d'articles de journaux, etc. Il est heureux d'apprendre que M. de Bloch est disposé à aider une propagande entreprise en ce sens, et recommande aux Sociétés de tous pays de recourir à ses bons offices.

M. Novicow, referring to M. Prudhommeaux's address, said the Colonial expansion hardly met the case. No country had done more in this way than England ; yet she found that increased territory did not always mean larger markets. Canada and Australia had high tariffs. He did not see the good of such a Colonial expansion as that.

The resolutions were then agreed to without opposition.

MISSIONARIES AND DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION.

M. Novicow, as reporter for Commission A (Actualities), said they had had before them a series of resolutions, proposed by the corresponding Commission to the Paris Congress

last year, on the action of missionaries and its dangers and on diplomatic protection accorded in non-Christian countries to the Christian subjects of those countries. These had been adopted by M. Gaston Moch for submission to the present Congress, and, on the base of these proposals, the Commission now proposed the following resolutions:—

[ENGLISH.]

I. Recognising that it is the duty of every country to protect its own citizens who reside abroad, and also citizens of other countries residing within its borders, while they respect the law ;

Recognising also that homage should be rendered to the courage and sincerity of Missionaries who sacrifice comfort, and sometimes life, for the promotion of their faith; and that every man has the right to endeavour to induce others to share his convictions ;

The Congress earnestly recommends that Missionaries should rigorously abstain from all action which can even indirectly expose their country to war; should refrain from appealing to their Governments to avenge their wrongs; and should rely on the well-recognised power of disinterested effort, and not upon military force, which must always be a hindrance to their service.

II.—Considering that in certain countries, and notably in the Far East, some subjects of the non-Christian Powers who join one of the Christian Churches take advantage thereof to claim the position of diplomatic protection from one of the nations holding the Christian Faith, and thus to escape the authority of their own Government ;

Considering that the Christian nations cannot admit these claims without injuring the sovereign rights which even non-Christian Powers have incontestably over their own subjects, of whatever religion they may be, and without, as a consequence, exposing themselves to the danger of exciting the legitimate susceptibilities of these Powers ;

The Congress is of opinion that the Christian nations should strictly abstain from claiming, or even admitting, their diplomatic protection of the subjects of the non-Christian Powers who may have joined either of the Christian Churches.

[FRENCH.]

I. Considérant que toute nation a le devoir de protéger les citoyens des autres pays résidant sur son propre territoire, ainsi que ses propres citoyens résidant en pays étranger, aussi longtemps que ceux-ci respectent les lois des Etats où ils se sont établis ; considérant aussi qu'on doit une profonde admiration aux individus qui sacrifient leur bien-être et parfois leur vie pour la propagation de leur foi, et que tout homme a le droit et le devoir de faire partager ses convictions à ses semblables ;

Le Congrès est d'avis :

Qu'il faut fortement recommander aux missionnaires de s'abstenir rigoureusement de toute action pouvant conduire, même indirectement, leur pays à une guerre ; qu'il faut encore les détourner de tout appel à leurs gouvernements pour venger les torts qui leur sont faits, et qu'il faut leur faire comprendre qu'ils doivent s'appuyer sur la seule puissance de l'effort désintéressé, et non sur la force des armes, force qui est toujours un obstacle à leur progrès.

II. Le Congrès,

Considérant que, en Extrême Orient, quelques sujets des puissances non-chrétiennes qui font acte d'adhésion à l'une des confessions chrétiennes s'en prévalent pour réclamer la qualité de protégé diplomatique d'une des nations de civilisation chrétienne et pour échapper ainsi à la souveraineté de leur gouvernement :

Considérant en outre que la protection de ces convertis est pour les nations de civilisation chrétienne une source d'embarras sans nombre, qu'elle est une des causes les plus fréquentes de conflits entre ces nations et les puissances non chrétiennes, et qu'elle constitue un danger permanent pour la paix ;

Est d'avis :

Que les nations de civilisation chrétienne doivent s'abstenir rigoureusement de revendiquer ou même d'accepter la protection diplomatique des sujets des puissances non chrétiennes qui font acte d'adhésion à l'une des confessions chrétiennes.

The Rev. J. SPRIGGS SMITH supported. He said that missionaries going to a foreign country like China were naturally suspected of having some ulterior object. The native rulers would say : "My people who adhere to your principles think they can do pretty much what they like, because they believe your country will protect them." One of the greatest mistakes this nation had made in that matter was that the missionary went independently of the country from which he went. It was thus thought the missionary went first to smooth the way, then the Consul went to help him out of some indiscretion of his ; then the country backed up the missionary and the consul with soldiers. That sort of conduct alienated the better class. (Cries of "Vote! vote!" "Agreed!") Let them impress upon all they know who are labouring in foreign lands that they are labouring for the God of Heaven, who sent them, and that they should avoid the appearance of being connected with the political operations of the nation sending them.

M. OLAUS KELLERMANN (Cette) said they had voted a resolution in favour of the Armenians, because they had been persecuted and massacred. They should support the same principle in regard to missionary work. Missionaries should be protected. He would make a distinction between diplomatic and military protection. They should give diplomatic counsel to any nation that hurt missionaries.

The resolutions were then put to the meeting and carried, with only two dissentients.

Dr. DARBY proposed that the Congress should adjourn. It was, however, agreed to continue a short time so as to allow another subject to be dealt with.

"PACIFERENT NEUTRAL ALLIANCES."

Miss P. H. PECKOVER (Wisbech)—who said that while long convinced of the value of the idea of neutrality, she was simply laying before the Congress lessons learned from her master, K. P. Arnoldson, of Stockholm, and especially of M. Frederik Bajer, of Copenhagen—read the following paper on this subject:—

"The twenty-seventh article of The Hague Convention declares that 'the signatory Powers consider it to be a duty, in case of an acute contention threatening to break out between two or more of them, to remind these that the Permanent Arbitration Court is open to them'; but the method of carrying this into practical working was left unsettled. Several attempts were made to reach a satisfactory solution of the problem, but without success. In the course of debate Mr. Holls, American delegate, suggested that it would be better to entrust the presentation of the intervention to the Neutral Powers rather than to the Secretary-General—an excellent proposition, but one which presupposes some kind of agreement amongst these Powers. This would render it necessary that several States should unite so as to form an Alliance, whose work for Peace should bear fruit; also an internal arrangement, because surely one of them would have to take the initiative in proposing Arbitration or Mediation. This latter arrangement might consist in instituting a kind of presidency or wardenship, which might each year pass on

to another of the allied States. They might very properly succeed to it in alphabetical order. 'In this case,' writes Mr. Bajer, whose project, in his absence, he has asked me to champion, 'the reminder to States in conflict would be made by a collective note sent by the presidential State (or warden) in the name of the Alliance. This note should be drawn up in a form already agreed upon by the Allied Powers.' This ready-made form would be necessary to enable the machinery to be put in motion as rapidly as possible.

"Adhesion to the Alliance of which we have just spoken—and which may be styled 'pacigerent,' as opposed to all that is covered by the word belligerent—should stand open to every sovereign State which shall adopt the Statutes common to the States already allied. This Alliance may be considered constituted as soon as the original States shall have in sufficient number diplomatically notified their intention to the others. The Statutes of the States which have entered the Alliance should be sent to the other States, inviting their adhesion. We need not detail the various points which would have to be dealt with in these Statutes, only pointing out that it is desirable that they should include those which already figure in The Hague Conventions. Thus, for instance, they should declare that the Allied States will conclude permanent Arbitration treaties amongst themselves, whether special or general, with the aim of making settlements by peaceful means obligatory in every case in which they may deem it possible. The States forming the Alliance which, in view of their international position, should consider it suitable or possible, could also conclude amongst themselves permanent treaties of collective neutrality which they could add to Arbitration treaties. Anyway it would be indispensable that they should agree upon the principles to be followed in maintaining rights and fulfilling duties resulting from the new situation; principles which would serve as the base of a future code, not only as to their respective relations, but also towards all the States in general, whose interest it evidently is to define in a very exact manner the laws of neutrality, hitherto so uncertain. The history of maritime law gives an excellent example of this mode of for-

mation, which works slowly but surely, as the coral-reefs rise in the ocean deeps. It is thus, for example, that the six Alliances of neutrality in the three small Scandinavian States, between 1691 and the Crimean War, contributed effectively to laying the foundation of the present maritime law contained in the Declaration of Paris, April 16th, 1856. Thus, in short, the presiding Power (Warden) being authorised by the rest, would, at the moment of conflict or imminence of it, send a collective note to remind States at variance that the Permanent Court of Arbitration is open to them.

“As it is sometimes difficult to judge as to the most opportune moment—neither too soon, nor too late—for such a missive, it may be well to query whether in certain cases the offer of ‘good offices’ or mediation by one of the States of the Alliance might not be preferable to a proposal of Arbitration. In order to be sufficiently sure of the best method of procedure, there would need to be a careful, impartial, and conscientious study beforehand of the facts out of which an international conflict might arise, which the ‘*Commissions internationales d’enquête*,’ as instituted by Articles 7 and 14, would not supply, as they are constituted only after the parties have failed to come to an agreement by diplomatic methods. There is needed a permanent commission of enquiry such as M. L. de Bar, Professor at Göttingen (a distinguished member of the Institute of International Law and of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference), suggested under the title of an ‘Academy.’ The name, however, signifies little. Such a permanent commission could be very well included in the future Nobel Institute which Mr. Ullman, a distinguished Norwegian, late President of the Storthing, has described as a central establishment for the scientific study and development of international justice. Why should not the Alliance utilise this laboratory for the serious examination of possible causes of war which its beneficent action might prevent?

“Finally, this is the proposition we would submit to the consideration of all who are interested in the success of the Conventions voted at The Hague, and especially those relating to the settlement of international disputes. Article 27

lays down a moral duty for the accomplishment of which a practical machinery must be devised, which might be constituted thus:—Two—perhaps three—States at the least should form an Alliance, if possible strengthened by treaties of perpetual neutrality or of permanent Arbitration, or both. They should establish a plan of rotation for the Presidency of ‘pacigerent’ action. As soon as a conflict breaks out, or threatens to do so, the State which at the time is the President (Warden) in virtue of the previous indispensable assent of the Allied States, shall take the initiative, sending a note to the disputants, pointing out to them the existence of the Arbitral Court, and the necessity of having recourse to its intervention. On the other hand, previous to the arising of international conflict, and with the aim of materially studying questions of facts which might give birth to such conflicts, it would be desirable to institute a permanent commission which might be planted upon the splendid foundation of Dr. Nobel, designed for serving the cause of Peace in the most effective way, and for helping to realise the principles established by The Hague Conference.

“First then, it is necessary to create the Pacigerent Alliance; and the Commission of the Peace Bureau at Berne seems to have understood this so well that, on October 1st, at Paris, it unanimously adopted the proposition of M. Bajer to nominate a Committee charged with the study of the most practical means of creating such an Alliance, composed of the Baroness von Suttner (Austria), M. H. La Fontaine (Belgium), M. E. Arnaud (France), M. N. Fleva, Envoy-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Roumania to Rome, M. Ducommun (Switzerland), and M. Bajer (Denmark). M. Arnaud will explain to you the further deliberations at Berne, May 17th.

“All persons of good intent are invited to help the Committee in its preparatory studies. When these are completed, a lively propaganda can begin in favour of realising the idea during the present century. We shall certainly succeed if all, whether States or individuals, bring to the work of Peace in the new era the same enthusiasm which in past ages our ancestors have thrown into war.”

M. ARNAUD recalled the fact that a Committee, consisting of Mme. de Suttner, and of MM. Henri la Fontaine, Emile Arnaud, N. Fleva, E. Ducommun, and F. Bajer, had been appointed to study the question of the most practical method for securing the full operation of Article 27 of The Hague Convention, which provided "that the signatory Powers consider it a duty, in case a sharp conflict should threaten to break out between two or more of them, to remind these Powers that the Permanent Court is open to them." M. Bajer had produced a scheme of an Alliance which he called "Pacigerent," in contradistinction to belligerent. But as the Committee had come to no definite decision on various points it desired to continue its labours. Consequently M. Arnaud proposed to the Congress:—

[ENGLISH.]

(1) *To confirm the Committee of the Study of Pacigerence in its Mission*; (2) *to complete the Committee by the addition to it of jurisconsults like MM. Léon de Montluc, Michel Revon, and Merignhac, and of Peace workers like Miss Peckover*; and (3) *to authorise the Committee to add further to its numbers.*

[FRENCH.]

1° de confirmer le Comité d'études pour la Pacigrance dans sa mission, 2° de compléter ce Comité par l'adjonction de jurisconsultes comme MM. Léon de Montluc, Michel Revon et Merignhac, de personnalités pacifiques comme Miss Peckover, et 3°, d'autoriser le Comité à s'adjoindre de nouveaux membres.

This was agreed to without discussion or opposition, and the Congress adjourned at 5.30 p.m.

THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1901.

The further arrangements for the day included a visit of the members to the International Exhibition, the place appointed as rendezvous being "Flint's Tea Rooms," in the Exhibition grounds.

SIXTH AND LAST SESSION.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1901.

Upon Sir JOSEPH PEASE taking the Chair, at ten o'clock a.m.,

Dr. W. EVANS DARBY made some announcements, adding that he congratulated the Congress on having got to its last sitting, and so within sight of the end of its labours.

[ORDER OF BUSINESS.]

The PRESIDENT said he concluded that matters still on the agenda, and not requiring more than a few moments of explanation, should be taken first, while the others would have to stand over.

THE NEXT CONGRESS.

M. EMILE ARNAUD, on behalf of Commission C, brought forward the remaining business. He said the first matter to be decided was the place of the meeting of the next Congress. Three proposals had been received. In the first place there was an invitation from the German Society for the Imposition of Obligatory International Justice to meet next year in Berlin. Secondly, the Peace Association of Toulouse, through M. Aubry, invited the Congress to go to that city. Thirdly, there was an invitation from the Austrian Peace Society at Vienna. That Society suggested that the Congresses should be alternated with the Interparliamentary Conferences, and that the date of the next Congress should be fixed for the month of September, 1903. It should, therefore, be considered whether it was not expedient to adjourn the Congress

till the year after next. The German delegates at the Congress did not support the invitation from Berlin, and did not advise the acceptance of the proposal. Under the circumstances, there only remained for next year the proposal to go to Toulouse. Objections might be raised that the Congress met only last year in Paris, and that Toulouse was also in France. But there was a vast difference between Toulouse and Paris. Two solutions were open to them: First, to accept at once the invitation from Toulouse; and he thought if they accepted this invitation they would not regret it—they would have a good reception, and they would do a useful work. Or, the only other course would be not to settle any place at that moment, but to leave the matter in the hands of the Commission of the Berne Bureau to act on its discretion after consultation with the Societies.

Mr. ALEXANDER supported the latter solution.

Mr. E. D. MEAD moved to refer the question to the Berne Bureau. If it happened that the Congress did not meet again till 1903, he had no doubt that it would be warmly welcomed to St. Louis, where a great exhibition was to be held in that year. He hoped that the Congress would be held in some conspicuous centre—a description hardly reached by the city of Toulouse.

The motion was put and agreed to.

M. ARNAUD suggested that the Congress should send its thanks for the invitations which had been sent.

On the motion of Mr. MEAD this was agreed to, amid applause.

These resolutions, as devised, ran:—

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress decides to entrust to the Berne Bureau the mission of fixing the place and date of the Congress of 1902. It accords its thanks for the invitations which have been given to it, and takes special note of those from Toulouse and Vienna.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès décide de confier au Bureau de Berne la mission d'arrêter le lieu et la date du Congrès de 1902. Il vote des remerciements pour les invitations qui lui ont été faites et prend bonne note de celles de Toulouse et de Vienne.

THE ARBITRAL CLAUSE IN COMMERCIAL TREATIES.

Mr. J. G. ALEXANDER moved :

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress re-affirms the desirability of inserting in all Treaties of Commerce, and other Conventions of like character, a clause submitting to Arbitration the solution of all differences with regard to these treaties and conventions. It notes with satisfaction that several Governments have procured the insertion of this clause in their conventions, and recommends all other Governments to follow this example.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès reconnaît à nouveau l'utilité d'insertion dans les traités de commerce et autres conventions de même nature d'une clause stipulant le recours à l'arbitrage pour tous les différents auxquels ces conventions pourraient donner lieu. Il constate avec satisfaction que plusieurs Gouvernements ont fait insérer une telle clause dans leurs conventions et recommande à tous les Gouvernements de suivre cet exemple.

Mr. C. DALRYMPLE HALL seconded the motion, which was agreed to.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY.

M. AUBRY, on behalf of Commission B (International Law), briefly explained that Mr. Hodgson Pratt had presented a memoir on the question of creating an additional organization to the Official Commissions of Inquiry in case of acute international disputes contemplated in The Hague Convention, in the shape of an international organization which would make investigations, and publish the true facts as to any questions that might lead to a conflict. Mr. Pratt proposed in it that the Congress should appoint a Permanent Committee charged to fulfil this rôle of Council of Inquiry; its office might be established at Berne, by preference at the Peace Bureau; it would draw up a list of existing questions in dispute, would distribute statements on these questions, making them the object of close study, and would publish representations of facts with a view to enlightening public opinion. It would be necessary to vote money for the necessary expenses. This matter had been before the Paris Congress, but it was now, owing to a lack of time, only possible to remit it for consideration to the Berne Bureau. He therefore moved that

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress remits to the International Bureau at Berne Mr. Hodgson Pratt's paper on Councils of Conciliation and Inquiry, and commissions the Bureau to ensure the largest possible execution of the measures indicated therein.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès décide le renvoi au Bureau international de la Paix du mémoire de M. Hodgson Pratt sur les Conseils de conciliation et d'enquête, en donnant au Bureau mission d'assurer l'exécution la plus large possible des mesures indiquées dans ce mémoire.

This resolution was agreed to, Dr. W. Evans Darby and Mr. F. Moscheles expressing regret that there was no opportunity to consider such an important subject more fully.

EDUCATION AND PEACE.

Miss M. L. COOKE, on behalf of the Society of Friends, supported by the Peace Union, and the Liverpool and Birkenhead Women's Peace and Arbitration Society, moved—

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress recommends, in the interest of Peace by means of education, that prizes be offered to the children and young people in the public schools and colleges and in private schools, for compositions dealing with the Peace Question, or any other subject whose direct or indirect aim is the creation of just and friendly relations among different races and nations. This recommendation is particularly made to those teachers who are free to arrange their curriculum; if such is not the case the prizes may be offered for essays written during other than school hours.

History, extracted from manuals chosen with much care; comparative descriptions of the manners and customs of different peoples, edited in a large and liberal spirit; accounts of journeys made in the same spirit; novels, such as 'Lay Down Your Arms,' which depict in bold relief the evils of war—all these writings may be utilised for young boys and girls able to understand them, whilst for children of a lower age use can be made of oral explanations and lectures with lantern slides.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès recommande, dans l'intérêt de la Paix par l'éducation, que des prix soient offerts aux enfants et aux jeunes gens dans les écoles, les collèges publics et les écoles privées, pour des travaux ayant trait à la question de la Paix ou à tout autre sujet dont le but direct ou indirect

est la création de relations équitables et amicales entre les diverses races et les diverses nations. Cette recommandation est faite particulièrement à ceux des instituteurs qui sont libres d'arranger leur plan d'études ; si tel n'est pas le cas, les prix peuvent être offerts pour des travaux faits pendant les heures libres.

L'histoire, extraite de manuels choisis avec beaucoup de soin, des descriptions comparatives des mœurs et coutumes des différents peuples, rédigées dans un esprit large et libéral, des comptes rendus de voyages faits dans ce même esprit, des nouvelles telles que ' Bas les armes ! ' qui mettent en relief les maux de la guerre, tous ces écrits peuvent être utilisés pour les jeunes garçons et les jeunes filles à même de les comprendre, tandis que pour les enfants en plus bas âge on se servira d'explications orales et de narrations avec projections lumineuses.

That motion, said Miss Cooke, was a humble contribution to the education of children in the spirit of brotherhood, and she thought the subject did not yield in importance to any that had been brought before the Congress. (Applause.) England and some other countries had shown lately how they suffered from the lack of a knowledge of history, and from the teaching of history in the old national spirit instead of the broad international spirit of brotherhood, so that they were at the mercy of everyone who chose to draw up a sketch which could hardly be called history. (Hear, hear.) This contributed not a little to the production of "war fever" and to the ignorance which they all deplored. Therefore she was advocating a plan which had already been tried in England to some extent, and particularly at Blackheath College, where a number of prizes were offered for essays on the subject of Peace, and courses of study were carried on with the aid of books like 'Lay Down Your Arms,' and Justin McCarthy's 'History of Our Own Times.' In the London Board Schools also the subject had been brought forward. She asked her fellow delegates to seriously consider whether they could not secure the starting of such courses for students in history, travel, and anything that contributed to the creation of the sentiment of brotherhood. (Applause.)

Miss PECKOVER, on behalf of the International Alliance of Women, warmly seconded the motion.

The Abbé PICHOT said that Mme. Carlier at Croiselles (Pas-de-Calais) and Mlle. Bodin at Les-Briés-Appugny (Yonne) were trying to establish an international society for the pacific

education of children, and they would no doubt be gratified to receive suggestions and support.

Mr. MEAD said this was a matter of the highest importance, and he lamented that they could not discuss it adequately while so much time had been wasted on less important subjects. They wondered in this country, when such a question as that of Venezuela arose, that there was an ebullition of hatred of Britain. The cultivation of that sentiment was due to false teaching in the schools. (Hear, hear.) The children had been brought up for three generations in an utterly false view of history as between America and England; and such a prejudice had grown up, that as soon as an American boy was out of petticoats and into trousers he set up sticks in the backyard and shot at them as "redcoats." The American people had not been taught that half of the English people at the time of the American Revolution were what were nowadays called traitors—that Chatham, Burke, Fox, and others, who were remembered with gratitude, were "traitors to their country," and friends of America. (Applause.) It was fundamentally necessary that they should have a new, progressive, scientific teaching of history in schools if their children were to grow up into citizenship with true notions on this subject. An important effort was being made in Boston to train up their children to a true conception of history and citizenship; but it was necessary also to train them to true ideas of internationalism and true ideas of the heroism of industry and Peace as opposed to that of war. He rejoiced that at the last moment the matter had been introduced, and he hoped the Congress would show how deeply they felt about it. (Applause.)

Mr. MOSCHELES said he had been very glad to hear Mr. Mead's speech, and he wished briefly to support it. If they wanted to have children taught the principles of Peace, the thing was to teach them oneself. It had recently been his duty and privilege to head a deputation to the London School Board on the subject, and he was very severely cross-examined as to what he meant to do. He wanted permission to lecture in the schools under the Board on the subject of Peace. That was granted, and from six to eighty children

in one class had sometimes listened to what he told them about The Hague Conference. To be sure he had to introduce the subject in a popular way, starting with the query whether any one of them had ever killed anybody; that of course eliciting a chorus of "Noes." He asked whether anyone present would like to kill anybody, to see a knife go in at one side and come out at the other, and so on. Once interested, the children were most sympathetic listeners. He had also been authorised to offer prizes, and in response to this invitation he got most interesting essays from some of them, which showed how well they understood and appreciated his arguments in favour of law *versus* war. It was sometimes wiser to "lie low" than to rouse opposition, so the good work had been postponed for a while; but he and his friends were quite prepared to take it up again at the earliest opportunity, and not only to address the children themselves, but groups of the teachers who were daily in touch with the rising generation. He warmly supported the motion. (Applause.)

Mrs. MEAD said that a collation of many text-books showed that English children had excellent teaching on history. That there was so much admirable feeling in the English child she attributed largely to those excellent text-books. In America they were not nearly so good.

Professor QUIDDE said that in the Grand Duchy of Baden the Peace Societies had obtained authority that the local government should correct the school books which had taught Jingoism. Throughout the rest of Germany, however, the evil still existed.

The motion was then carried *nem. con.*

[THE ANTI-DUELLING MOVEMENT.]

Mr. MOSCHELES moved:—

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress has heard with pleasure of the propaganda against duelling that is being carried on by Don Alfonso de Bourbon, in Austria, and by Fürst zu Löwenstein, in Germany. It endorses their formula of Declaration, and it cordially supports agitation against duelling in all countries.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès se félicite d'apprendre que don Alphonse en Autriche et le prince de Lüwenstein en Allemagne ont enterpris une propagande contre le duel et il appuie cordialement toute agitation entreprise en ce sens.

Le Congrès approuve la formule de déclaration signée par les adhérents de l'Association contre le duel.

He asked the Congress without going back on the question of duelling itself to offer its support to the great movement started about a year ago by Don Alfonso, the brother of Don Carlos, and to similar efforts elsewhere. It was interesting to know that 745 men of position, amongst whom were many members of the aristocracy, had already signed the form of declaration used in the movement in question, and that it was going to be more widely circulated still. This formula was as follows:—

The undersigned bind themselves by this declaration to labour with all their strength, as well in their social circles as in their public life, to spread the movement, the final aim of which is the complete suppression of the duel. They regard as the expression of a vulgar prejudice the description of *coward* applied to anyone who does not engage in a duel, and they consider him who, from serious conviction, refuses a duel as a man of honour for whom they profess the profoundest esteem. They consider the formation of true "tribunals of honour" as absolutely indispensable. The decision of these tribunals would give a real satisfaction to the man to whom unjust offence was given and who would no longer set himself to find redress by the uncertain way of arms.

He had received a letter from Don Alfonso expressing the hope that he would have the support of the Congress. (Applause.)

The motion was carried *nem. con.*

TOLSTOY AND THE DUKHOBORTSI.—CONSCRIPTION.

Mr. G. H. PERRIS said that on behalf of the International Arbitration Association he had brought the following resolutions before Commission C, and in the name of that Commission he now proposed the second and third of them:—

A. In addition to the other lines of effort in favour of international brotherhood, the Congress recognises the individual refusal to take up arms as a most important auxiliary, and the organised strike against

military service as the ultimate weapon of democracy against militarism. Especially, it regards refusal to submit to military compulsion not only as legitimate and useful, but as an essential moral duty of all adherents of the Peace movement.

[ENGLISH.]

B. The Congress records its humble admiration for the splendid example of the Dukhobortsi in Russia, and small groups of men in other Continental countries; and its gratitude for the genius and devotion which one of the greatest living writers, Count Leo Tolstoy, has given to the support of the pacific idea as he sees it.

C. The Congress also expresses the hope that the British people, now lying under the threat of conscription, will awake to the meaning of barrack-slavery ere it is too late. It believes that by refusing all plans of compulsory military service, the British people will give a great impetus, both in this and other countries, toward a further consideration of the proposal for an arrest of armaments, already partly discussed by the envoys of the Powers gathered at The Hague.

[FRENCH.]

I. Le Congrès exprime son ardente admiration pour l'exemple donné par les Dukhobortsi russes et par d'autres petites communautés continentales. Il exprime également sa gratitude envers l'un des plus grands littérateurs vivants, le comte Léon Tolstoï, pour le génie et le dévouement qu'il a mis au service des idées pacifiques, telles qu'il les entend.

II. Le Congrès exprime l'espoir que le peuple anglais, aujourd'hui sous la menace de la conscription, se réveille avant qu'il soit trop tard et repousse l'esclavage de la caserne. Il croit que le peuple anglais, en rejetant toutes les propositions de service obligatoire, donnera, dans ce pays comme dans les autres, un puissant appui à la question de désarmement déjà partiellement discutée par les délégués des puissances à La Haye.

He said that considerable opposition to the first motion was developed in the Commission; but though it was not adopted, it was felt to be important enough to be brought forward as an individual proposition. As discussion was now impossible, however, he would ask leave to hold motion "A" over, and to move formally the proposition appreciating the example of the Dukhokortsi and the work of the greatest living writer and moralist, Count Tolstoy, and also the motion asking British people to refuse all plans of compulsory military service. He also explained that Resolution B did not imply any endorsement by the Congress of the ideas of Count Tolstoy and his disciples, but it was simply the well-deserved

expression of the gratitude of the Congress towards the illustrious defender of a Peace system and an expression of the just admiration they ought to feel towards those who risked the heaviest penalties rather than submit to military service when their conscience forbade.

M. RUYSSSEN asked that, if the mover would not withdraw the third proposition also, "B" and "C" should be put separately.

Mr. PERRIS said he had withdrawn one motion in deference to opposition, but he thought these two should now be put to the vote.

The motions were carried by large majorities.

AN INTERNATIONAL FÊTE AND A PEACE FLAG.

M. GASTON MOCH briefly reported on the question of an international fête, and an international flag, and moved:—

[ENGLISH.]

I. The Congress invites the Peace Societies to celebrate the 18th of May—anniversary of the opening of The Hague Conference—as an "International Fête," which the nations may be induced to adopt some day, side by side with their national anniversaries.

II. The Congress approves in principle the idea of the adoption of a Peace Societies Flag. It remits the question to the Commission charged to study the proposition of Mr. Moscheles.

[FRENCH.]

I. Le Congrès engage les Sociétés à célébrer à l'avenir le 18 mai, anniversaire de l'ouverture de la Conférence de La Haye, comme une Fête internationale que les nations pourront être ainsi amenées à adopter en dehors de leurs fêtes nationales respectives.

II. Le Congrès approuve en principe l'idée de l'adoption d'un drapeau des Sociétés de la Paix. Il renvoie cette question aux Comités chargés d'étudier la proposition de M. Moscheles.

He said that various dates had been suggested for an annual International Peace Fête, and the Commission had agreed to recommend the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of The Hague Conference. Even if that Conference should prove to have been a failure, history will go back to it as the greatest step yet taken toward permanent Peace. They could still maintain the meeting of February 22nd, but

the great fête should be on May 18th. As to the second question, it would be pleasant to have a characteristic flag to hang out or bear in procession ; but as this was primarily a question of art and symbolism, it could not be easily discussed in the Congress, and he only asked that the principle should be approved and the matter be left for ulterior study.

Dr. DARBY moved that these questions be remitted to the Berne Bureau for study and presentation to the next Congress.

Mr. J. F. GREEN seconded this. He said that in this country the 22nd of February meetings had already taken root and had done very good service ; and it would be a great pity to adopt a new anniversary which would interfere with what was already being done. Nations differ in their customs, and what might be popular in France might not be acceptable elsewhere.

M. PASSY thought that they should celebrate May 18th in some way, but that they should not abandon the February 22nd, because it was an established institution.

Mr. MOSCHELES said that as the author of the 22nd of February meeting he naturally had some paternal feeling for it. That must not influence him, but he strongly felt that if M. Moch's resolutions were adopted this would happen : some societies or countries would celebrate one date and some the other ; and the whole value of the festival, which depended upon international unanimity, would be lost. Whatever might be ultimately decided, that point was essential. Let anyone celebrate May 18th who wished to do so, but it must not go forth from the Congress that it should supersede the 22nd of February, or that some of them might celebrate one date and some another. (Hear, hear.)

The amendment remitting the subjects to the Berne Bureau was then put and agreed to.

FREE TRADE.

M. EMILE ARNAUD submitted the following resolutions, which had been sent by Signor Giretti :—

“The Congress re-affirms its sympathy with all efforts made in favour of Free Trade. It expresses its hope that the

régime of Free Trade will also be adopted with regard to the colonies, believing that Protectionism is one of the principal causes of discord, and even of war, between nations."

The subject was handed over to them from the last Congress, and if anyone now rose to oppose it would have to be again withdrawn.

Dr. W. EVANS DARBY said that as the motion opened a wide field for discussion, he proposed that the subject should be remitted to the next Congress.

The Rev. J. SPRIGGS SMITH seconding, this was agreed to.

RIGHT OF VOTING AT CONGRESSES.

Mr. PERRIS said that Commission C had had before it a valuable memorandum by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, dealing especially with the question of the right of voting at the Congresses. As the impossibility of discussing the matter on the present occasion was recognised, the Commission proposed the following motion, which it was hoped would be at once agreed to:—

[ENGLISH.]

The Congress transmits to the Berne Bureau the interesting memoir that it has received from Mr. Hodgson Pratt, concerning the revision of the rules of the Annual Peace Congresses, and instructs the Bureau to consult the Societies on this question of the revision of the rules.

[FRENCH.]

Le Congrès transmet au Bureau de Berne l'intéressant mémoire qu'il a reçu de M. Hodgson Pratt sur la révision du Règlement des Congrès annuels de la Paix, et donne mission au Bureau de consulter les Sociétés sur cette question de révision.

This resolution was adopted without opposition.

SERVICES OF M. DUCOMMUN.

Mr. J. F. GREEN, reverting to the letter of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, introduced in yesterday morning's sitting, said a proposal in recognition of the services of M. Ducommun had now been drafted which would probably meet with their approval:—

[ENGLISH.]

I.—The Congress gladly seizes the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the International Peace Bureau to express to the distinguished organiser and director of the Bureau, M. Elie Ducommun, its profound respect and its lively gratitude for the great and disinterested services rendered by him to the cause of Peace. It also resolves to send a telegram to M. Ducommun in this sense.

II.—The Congress begs Mr. Hodgson Pratt to take, in his own name, the necessary steps to bring before the societies and friends of Peace his proposal to offer to M. Ducommun some material proof of their recognition of his services.

[FRENCH.]

I. Le Congrès saisit avec empressement l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la constitution du Bureau international de la Paix pour adresser à l'éminent organisateur et Directeur de ce Bureau, M. Elie Ducommun, l'hommage de son profond respect et de sa très vive gratitude pour les services considérables et entièrement désintéressés qu'il a rendus et qu'il rendra à la cause de la Paix.

Il décide l'envoi à M. Ducommun d'un télégramme en ce sens.

II. Le Congrès prie M. Hodgson Pratt, auteur de la proposition, de faire, en son nom, le nécessaire auprès des Sociétés et des amis de la Paix, en vue d'offrir à M. Elie Ducommun un témoignage matériel de sa reconnaissance.

This was received with loud applause, and a telegram was at once despatched to M. Ducommun.

[TELEGRAM.]

Mr. MOSCHELES read a message from the Baroness von Süttner, who said: "My thoughts are constantly at Glasgow, and I feel as though I had no right to live outside the Congress." (Applause.)

APPEAL TO THE NATIONS.

M. Novicow read in French, and Mr. NEWMAN in English, the following "Appeal to the Nations," prepared by Commission A:—

[ENGLISH.]

The tenth Universal Peace Congress of the Peace Societies of the whole world, meeting at Glasgow from the 10th to the 18th September, 1901, cannot close its work without clearly indicating the present direction of the pacific movement.

The trend of contemporary Society is more and more towards democracy. The welfare of the wage-earning classes is beginning to take the first place among the cares of politicians, whilst the astute combinations of the diplomatists fall into the background. The problem of poverty looms large. We are beginning to see more clearly that the only way to procure for the masses of the people an existence worthy of humanity, is to put an end to international anarchy. The question of the well-being of peoples is inseparable from that of a juridical union (legal relations) between the civilized nations. By continuing the present condition of international anarchy, not only are millions upon millions of pounds lost in absolutely unproductive military expenditure, but men are hindered from turning to account the enormous wealth contained in our earth. Everywhere, the hostility of nations raises a barrier to the free movement (circulation) of workmen from one country to another, and to commercial intercourse; and, production falling appreciably below what it ought to be, poverty universally prevails.

The time is come when everybody must realise that the question of Peace is a question of Bread. The triumph of Free Trade was secure when the great statesman Richard Cobden had presented it clearly and in a striking manner to the English people. Just so, will the pacific movement acquire an irresistible force when the masses of the people are made to understand that the suppression of poverty is only possible by a juridical union (such as would be secured by a legal tribunal) among the civilized nations.

Passing to other considerations, and having in view the events of recent years as well as the dark outlook of the immediate future, the Congress believes it useful once more solemnly to affirm the general principles laid down by the Peace Congress held in Rome in 1891, viz. :—

" The moral right of conquest has no existence ;

" Nations have an inalienable and imprescriptible right freely to dispose of themselves ;

" The autonomy of every nation is inviolable."

APPEL AUX NATIONS.

M. Novicow, Président de la Commission des Actualités, donne lecture de L'APPEL AUX NATIONS préparé par cette Commission. En voici le texte :—

Le dixième Congrès universel des Sociétés de la Paix du monde entier, réuni à Glasgow du 10 au 18 septembre 1901, ne peut pas clore ses travaux sans indiquer nettement la direction actuelle du mouvement pacifique.

Les sociétés contemporaines tendent de plus en plus vers la démocratie. Les intérêts des masses déshéritées passent au premier plan des préoccupations des hommes politiques, les habiles combinaisons des diplomates au

second. Partout le problème de la misère se pose d'une façon impérieuse et redoutable, et chaque jour on commence à voir plus clairement que l'unique moyen de procurer aux masses populaires une existence digne de l'homme est de mettre fin à l'anarchie internationale. La question du bien-être des peuples et celle de l'union juridique des Etats civilisés sont absolument connexes. En effet, par suite de l'anarchie actuelle, non seulement des milliards et des milliards sont perdus en dépenses militaires absolument improductives, mais, de plus, les hommes sont empêchés de mettre en exploitation les richesses énormes enfermées dans notre globe. L'hostilité des nations dresse partout des obstacles à la circulation des travailleurs et des marchandises, et la production restant sensiblement inférieure à ce qu'elle devrait être, la misère est universelle.

L'heure est venue où tous les hommes vont comprendre que la QUESTION DE LA PAIX est la QUESTION DU PAIN. De même que le grand Cobden a pu faire triompher la cause du libre échange dès qu'il l'a présentée au peuple anglais sous une forme nette et frappante, de même le mouvement pacifique acquerra une puissance irrésistible quand les masses populaires comprendront que la suppression de la misère n'est possible que par l'établissement d'une union juridique des peuples civilisés.

Passant à un autre ordre de considérations et ayant en vue les événements des dernières années, ainsi que les sombres perspectives de l'avenir immédiat, le Congrès croit utile d'affirmer solennellement encore une fois les principes généraux qu'il a élaborés pendant sa session de Rome en 1891:

Il n'existe pas de droit de conquête.

Les peuples ont le droit inaliénable et imprescriptible de disposer librement d'eux-mêmes.

L'autonomie de toute nation est inviolable.

As President of the Commission on Actualities, M. Novicow recalled the fact that at the opening of the Congress he had referred to the place which Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine, had given to Glasgow in the Peace movement. Now, at the conclusion, he would remind them of quite another man, not a native of Glasgow, but a man who worked in that city long as professor—Adam Smith. He likewise contributed greatly to the cause of Peace, because he recognised and helped the cause of commercial union throughout the world. Adam Smith wrote that the selfishness of commercial men would make it a long mission to carry out the principles he described; yet only fifty years later commercial men asked that his principles should be carried out. That was not be-

cause they had ceased to be selfish, but because they saw that self-interest and Free Trade coincided. So, in the future, a new Cobden and Bright would arise and convince the mass of people that Peace was the highest expression of their self-interest, and would so lead to the establishment of a system of freedom, union, and peace. (Applause.)

Mr. W. T. STEAD wished to call attention to the final clause of the "Appeal," which solemnly affirmed as a general principle that "the right of conquest has no moral existence." That was a sound principle expressed in plain words, which, being translated, meant that that Congress pronounced its anathema upon any Power that took away the inalienable right of people to own themselves, and that asserted the moral right of conquest, and attempted by superior force to crush out the existence of the independent republic of the Transvaal. (Loud cheers.)

The "Appeal" was then put, and carried *nem. con.*

VOTES OF THANKS.

Dr. DARBY moved : —

"That the best thanks of the Congress be accorded to the Lord Provost and the Magistrates of the City of Glasgow, for the generous hospitality extended to the Congress."

This was carried by acclamation, as was also a similar vote of thanks moved by him to the Provost and Corporation of Paisley.

Dr. TRUEBLOOD moved :—

"That the thanks of the Congress be accorded to the Berne Bureau, the Deliberations Committee, and the Committee of Organisation for their work, and to those who have given private hospitality to the delegates."

He expressed his sense of the great and efficient efforts which had been made by the Organising Committee to secure that all arrangements should work smoothly.

This was carried amid applause.

Mr. J. F. GREEN moved a vote of thanks to the Acting-Presidents, Dr. Spence Watson and Sir Joseph Pease, whose eminent services to the cause of Peace for many years past were well-known to them all. (Applause.)

In thanking the Congress on behalf of Dr. Spence Watson and himself, Sir JOSEPH PEASE said he must apologise for his lack of acquaintance with the work of conducting a two-horse team such as a double-language Congress. (Laughter.) But coming there had animated him afresh, and it must have done them all good to meet each other and feel that so many men and women from different countries were bound to each other in the same great cause. (Applause.)

Miss ELLEN ROBINSON pointed out that Dr. Trueblood's name should have been included in the list of Acting-Presidents. (Hear, hear.) The addition was warmly accepted.

Mr. GREEN moved a vote of thanks to the representatives of the Press who had attended the Congress, to whom a deep debt of gratitude was owing for their full and accurate reports. (Cheers.)

This ended the business of the Congress.

SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

Immediately after the rising of the Congress the members adjourned to the next room, where they partook of an informal luncheon, which had been provided by the Organisation Committee.

At 1.15 a special train left the Charing Cross Station of the North British Railway for Craigendoran Pier, where the excursionists embarked on board the fine steamer, 'Waverley,' and proceeded down the Firth of Clyde and through the Kyles of Bute as far as Tighnabruaich, the voyage skirting the shores of the Firth and the out-branching lochs. The threatening aspect of the weather, while it detracted somewhat from the beauty of the landscape, afforded visitors an opportunity of seeing these features of the landscape under peculiar and yet characteristic aspects. Otherwise the trip was an ideal one.

The members of the Congress returned to the Charing Cross Station at 7.30, and at once proceeded to the Berkeley Hall, where they were entertained at a banquet provided

by the Committee of Organisation. Lord Provost Chisholm presided, and in the course of an opening speech made sympathetic reference to the serious condition in which President McKinley at that moment lay. He was sure, he said, that the intelligence which had that evening been received in the city, that the condition of the President was one calling for the most serious apprehension, had gone to the heart of this great country, and made all its people sympathise most deeply with our friends across the sea. Yet while there was life there was hope ; but whether the life of the President should be long or short, whatever might be the result of his illness, he (the Lord Provost) was sure that the sympathy of the British people had been deeply roused and touched, and that fresh and tender bonds had been created between the two great divisions of the English-speaking people which would bring them more closely together as one people, which, after all, they were. (Applause.) Dr. Trueblood, M. Frédéric Passy, Mr. F. Moscheles, Mrs. Mead, Mr. J. F. Green, and others, also spoke, the oratory assuming the lighter character incidental to such gatherings.


APPENDIX.

NOTE ON THE RIGHT OF VOTING AT THE ANNUAL PEACE CONGRESS.

BY MR. HODGSON PRATT.

I venture to suggest for consideration whether the present Statutes on the subject of voting at the Annual Peace Congress do not require abolition or amendment.

Before proceeding further, I would observe that the present Statutes are not always strictly observed, and that if the practice of voting is to be continued, some supplementary Rules should be adopted. As regards Statute No. 2, I am of opinion that Societies frequently neglect to select and formally appoint delegates to these Congresses. The practice is that members of Peace and other Societies, without such previous appointment, present themselves at the Congress, after obtaining tickets of admission and voting cards from the Local Committee. I would observe, however, that the members can hardly, in such a case, be termed "delegates," and that all persons attending in that capacity should have some communication with their respective committees as to the course they should adopt in reference to the several questions on the programme. Moreover, it is quite possible, under the present arrangements, for representatives of one and the same Society to vote in contrary senses. For instance, I could name a Society which, every year, appoints two or more members, not of its own but of another Society, to represent them at the Congress; but without any instructions as to the course they should adopt when votes are taken. In this case the two or three representatives thus



appointed do not consult together, but vote quite independently of each other, and sometimes on opposite sides.

As regards Statute No. 3, I feel doubtful whether it is strictly observed, and I hope that the expediency of its provisions may be discussed. It does not follow that the more numerous Society has always a proportionate amount of wisdom. My fidelity to democratic principles may perhaps be impugned when I make that remark, but this opinion seems to me to be founded on experience. Apart from the laxity which at present exists in carrying out the existing Statutes on this subject, I am inclined to object altogether to the practice of voting at these Congresses. The voters are not selected on account of their knowledge, experience, or other qualifications. The audience is a haphazard one, and may consist, to some extent, of persons who have not at all studied the questions in debate. In a legislature, votes lead to definite results, such as the adoption or rejection of proposed projects of law, wherein the interests of a whole nation are at stake. Our debates, however, are more or less academic, and end in resolutions which bind no one and are often forgotten. And, as I have said, the voters are not selected by their supposed constituents, and receive no instructions from them. It is therefore very much a matter of accident whether any particular resolution is adopted or rejected.

For these reasons, I think that the practice of voting should cease. If, however, that view is not accepted, I suggest that the existing rules should be more strictly observed by the Societies, and some supplementary rules adopted for that purpose. I submit the following:—

1. A few weeks previous to the Congress, the Committee of each Society desiring to appoint delegates shall by circular inquire of every member whether he or she desires to be nominated, and the replies of those who answer in the affirmative shall be reported to a meeting of the Committee, who will then make the necessary appointments. The Secretary will then forward to every delegate so appointed a formal letter, which he or she will present to the Secretary of the Congress.

2. So far as possible, every delegate shall be informed what course the Committee desire him or her to take in reference to the several subjects on the programme.

3. Every delegate shall have a vote ("deliberative"), and no other persons whatever shall vote at the Congress.

4. No Society shall have the power of appointing persons as delegates who are not members of that Society.

5. Every delegate, shall report to his Committee, orally or in writing, what votes he gave, with such further information relating thereto as he thinks important.

RETROGRESSION :

OR, THE PROPOSAL TO FORM NEW TREATIES OF ARBITRATION
BETWEEN THE STATES SIGNATORY TO THE HAGUE .
CONVENTION.

*Presented for the Consideration of the Tenth Universal Peace
Congress at Glasgow.*

BY W. EVANS DARBY, LL.D.,
Secretary of the Peace Society.

THE aims of the Peace movement have been very definite. For nearly thirty years of its history the Peace Society contented itself mainly with bearing its testimony against war, and on behalf of methods of Peace. Then it made what its leaders considered a new departure. It began to agitate in favour of what has come to be technically called "permanent Arbitration," and sought to have its principles directly applied in practice. It was seen that however beautiful the theory of Peace might be, it was only when the theory crystallised itself, so to speak, in action, that any real progress could be made. Roughly speaking, this new departure dates from the year 1848. At the London Peace Convention of that year an address was unanimously adopted, and sent to "The Governments of the Civilised World," urging "the recognition of the principle of Arbitration, and the introduction of a clause into treaties, binding themselves to refer all

differences that may arise to the adjudication of one or more friendly Powers."

From that time progress has been very rapid. Not only has there been a larger number than ever before of instances of occasional Arbitration, and have numerous provisions been inserted in international treaties providing for Arbitration, but the advocates of Peace have been gaining a more definite and distinct idea of what was necessary to give practical effect to their principles. For some time, therefore, they have had before them a distinct goal. "What we are seeking," said Mr. Hodgson Pratt, in a paper read before the London Peace Congress of 1890, "is to create what is termed by jurists a 'legal order,' or a condition of things in the civilised world whereby all disputes shall be so decided as to secure absolute justice, and so eliminate the decision of such questions by a resort to force." And he urged that with this object, "our present efforts should be mainly directed to the constitution of the proposed International Tribunal."

It was seen that, however useful "occasional" Arbitration might be in "eliminating" the resort to force in particular instances, Arbitration could reach its final development only in a permanent and organized system, and that for the "juridical status" between nations—the "legal order" of the jurists—the Permanent Tribunal was a necessity.

The Hague Convention gave us this. Herein lay its significance. It was the actual beginning of the "legal order." It was not simply an encouraging and hopeful incident in the progress of the movement; it was not merely the fair first-fruits of the harvest; it was unspeakably more: it was the establishment, between twenty-four States constituting the great majority of the nations of the earth, of the Permanent Court, which it was agreed (Article 21) "shall have jurisdiction of all cases of Arbitration, unless there shall be an agreement between the parties for the establishment of a *Special Tribunal*." That is, there might be some reason for special action and arrangement outside the Permanent Court; otherwise, it was to have jurisdiction of *all cases* of Arbitration which might arise. The progress was greater than anyone had dared to anticipate. But the Signatory

Powers could not bring themselves to agree that all cases of difference should be referred to the Court. That was left an open question—"facultative"—and so the way was purposely left in the Convention for the Powers to agree between themselves to do this, and to form treaties, binding themselves to do so, thus making the agreement "obligatory" instead of optional.

It is here that the danger of retrogression comes in. It is now proposed to the Friends of Peace that they shall bend their energies to the promotion of general treaties of Arbitration between States, as if they were what the Convention contemplated, whereas they are quite different. The Hague Convention itself is such a treaty, and that has been signed, sealed, and ratified, between the Signatory States. No new treaty is necessary to do what has been done by it. The next thing is to give effect to it, and to extend its provisions, so as to make them apply to all cases of dispute which may arise.

This proposal is made under the guise of friendship and zeal for Arbitration. Let us examine the facts however. The first, following the chronological order, is from the 'Times,' which says:

"It will be remembered that Baron Lambermont, of the Belgian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, recently accepted the post of Arbitrator in two disputes between Great Britain and France: one in relation to the confiscation by England of the French vessel 'Sergent Malamine,' and the other as to a misunderstanding between French and English soldiers, during the pursuit of native tribes in the *Hinterland* of Sierra Leone, when shots were exchanged."

This seems, on the face of it, innocent enough. We have become accustomed to this method of Arbitration. It continues:

"Baron Lambermont, in conformity with the rules of procedure laid down at The Hague Conference, will shortly have the necessary documents placed in his possession, and a vote to this effect was recently passed in the French Chamber."

But an arbitrator not appointed under The Hague Convention cannot be subject to its provisions. This is the specious, mischievous element, for it connects it, by associa-

tion of ideas, with The Hague Convention, as if it were somehow connected with it, instead of being a departure from, and a denial of, it. This will be seen from the next sentence :

"It appears, however, that Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, who took a leading part at The Hague Conference, has addressed a protest to M. Delcassé on the ground of irregularity of procedure, contending that Baron Lambermont should not have been approached direct, but through the intermediary of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, now definitely constituted at The Hague. A similar protest has also been addressed to the British Government. The incident, though trifling in itself, is likely to have an interesting result—namely, the utilization of The Hague tribunal for the first time by two of the Signatory Powers."

Were this all, the incident might have seemed an oversight, or, perhaps, what M. Delcassé represented it to be in his reply, owing to some special circumstance, although, by the way, there has been, and in the completion of the Arbitration under this arrangement there could be, *no utilization of "The Hague Tribunal"*; that is the irregularity which is protested against.

Since then, however, M. d'Estournelles has written a long letter in the 'Temps' to prove that the Arbitration Court of The Hague is becoming a dead letter :

"The Court, he declares, has been deliberately doomed to a lingering death. No Government, he argues, was bold enough to refuse the Tsar's appeal. The nations saw in that appeal a glimmering of the light of Universal Peace, but the Governments have since been doing their best to extinguish that light, because they feared that the new order of things would reduce their power and their prerogatives. The Governments gave promises at the Conference, the chief being for a Permanent Court of Arbitration. It is another thing to keep those pledges. Yet the Governments have done all in their power to strangle the Court at its birth ; and, as it persists in living, they conspire to let it die of inanition. Even the Waima and 'Sergent Malamine' affair was referred to a special arbitrator, without a thought of The Hague Court, and yet the Court is still waiting for its first trial. The Hague Convention, he concludes, has already become a dead letter."

This serious statement of the Baron de Constant is corroborated by other circumstances. Still more recently, at the Conference of the International Law Association, the President, in his inaugural address, specially advocated the revival

of the Anglo-American General Treaty, which was signed but not ratified, and described it as "embodying more of the principles upon which a general treaty might proceed than any other treaty that had ever been published." The reader of a paper on the subject advocated the revival of that, and a similar treaty signed between Italy and the Argentine Republic, but not ratified—both of which were prior to The Hague Conference—and advanced, as we understood him, the extraordinary doctrine that The Hague Conference was an interruption in the Arbitration movement, and it was now necessary to take that up at the point where the interruption took place. Another paper introduced the following resolutions, which were adopted almost unanimously:—(1) That this Association views with satisfaction all attempts to widen the scope of Arbitration as a permanent means of solving difficulties between States; (2) That it regrets the failure of the efforts to carry a permanent Treaty of Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, and trusts that the Governments of these two countries will continue the work they have so admirably begun; and (3) that, in view of the favourable opinions expressed by the friends of Peace and the public generally in France, it is desirable and opportune that efforts be made to bring about the conclusion of a similar treaty between Great Britain and France. The Hague Convention is here absolutely ignored.

We understand that these, or similar, resolutions are to be put before the forthcoming Peace Congress. Already an agitation has arisen to get them adopted by the Peace Societies, and some have already been approved. It is well, however, to see where all this is leading us. Thus the 'Scotsman,' commenting on the Conference, says, "Peace would be far more assured if we had an authoritative treaty providing a recognized machinery by which quarrels might be adjusted." It is assumed that The Hague is not of this kind, and does not do this. This was, beyond doubt, the position taken by the International Law Conference, and this is the position which the advocates for Peace are now asked to take. The reason for it, as stated by another Scotch paper of repute, the 'Glasgow Herald' (August 21st), is that threats

have been made "to bring Great Britain to her knees by an application of the Convention." Some of our friends have striven for this, too, and lo! the mischief they have done. This paper says, "*The ordinary man will be most deeply impressed, and perhaps astonished, by the general belittling of The Hague Convention at the Conference.* If belittling is too strong a word, it is not too much to say that there was a common assumption that the Convention was a mere beginning of the great work of assuring the world against war." This establishes our point, except that the Hague Convention was not even considered a beginning, for the proposal was to set it aside, with the solatium of faint praise, by reverting to earlier abortive, but similar, treaties to do the same work.

The *Glasgow Herald* continues: "The fact which the International Law Congress has emphasised, not discovered, is that, as Mr. Barclay, President of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, put it, there is not yet in existence an instrument capable of preventing war between any two nations on the pretexts which are the most likely causes of war." Do the Peace Societies say this? Is this their attitude towards The Hague Treaty? Let them, at any rate, be consistent.

These general treaties, it must be noted, would have been quite in order, and the arguments put forward would have been quite valid, had there been no Hague Convention. The existence of that makes all the difference. As it is, the parties forming fresh treaties will, by that very act, withdraw themselves from The Hague Convention. They cannot carry out their new agreement and that too; every such treaty therefore, must, to the extent of its provisions, supersede The Hague Treaty, which thus becomes a dead letter.

It is difficult to deal with this specious and plausible movement, lest any attempt to do so should be made to appear, which might easily be done, as opposing "attempts to widen the scope of Arbitration," and so forth. That is not the point. Let it once be seen what place is occupied by The Hague Convention, already solemnly binding on all its signatories, and what it has really accomplished by its establishment of a Permanent Court, and then the real significance of

the proposal to form other general treaties, establishing other tribunals, will at once be apparent; and it will be seen also that, if the workers for Peace are drawn away in the new direction, or rather induced to return on their steps to the *status quo ante* The Hague Convention, they are really defeating that which is the crowning achievement of their efforts, and the highest prophecy of the fulfilment of their hopes.

If any Signatory Power, for selfish purposes, refuses honourably to keep its pledges, that neither discredits nor belittles the treaty, *but itself*. If it seeks to set it aside, lest it should minister to its own condemnation, that is no reason why the workers for Peace, who have so long laboured in face of opposition, should join the conspiracy.

It is easy to understand that the Governments would wish to keep things in their own hands, as has been avowed in support of this movement. It is clear, too, that any really international scheme, and of "obligatory" Arbitration more even than of "facultative," would reduce the power and prerogative of individual Governments. But we are not interested in preserving the power and prerogatives of existing Governments—that is not our business; and the wise and consistent policy of the workers for Peace will be to conserve what we have already attained, to carry it still further in the direction of a universal "legal order," and so make it a real stepping-stone to the era of permanent and universal Peace through the reign of Law and Love—of Love as sovereign, and Law as executive Power of the universal Kingdom of Peace and righteousness which is to be.

"FACULTATIVE" AND "OBLIGATORY."

A clear understanding of these terms is necessary. "Facultative," as used in connection with The Hague Arbitration Convention, does *not* mean that it is "optional" whether the Signatory Powers shall fulfil their obligation to carry out the Convention, and to use the Tribunal, or not. The whole of the proceedings in which these Powers have been taking part would amount to a solemn farce if it meant that. It means only that it is left "optional" whether they

will refer to the Court, or not, the particular differences as they arise—each being determined on its own merits. The obligation honourably to fulfil their solemn engagements is not affected at all—that remains intact.

“Obligatory,” as used in this connection, simply means that the Powers may by Treaty pledge themselves beforehand to submit all cases of difference, except any that may be specifically designated, to the Court, as they arise, thus creating for themselves a new moral and legal obligation—and, hence, making Arbitration “obligatory” in each case.

The proposal of the 19th Clause is *not* that new Treaties shall be formed to make The Hague Convention itself obligatory—that would be absurd. It is obligatory already to the extent of its terms. I repeat that both the moral and legal obligation to carry out The Hague Convention, as far as it extends, already exists—nothing could make it stronger; and it is not in the slightest degree affected by the fact whether the appeal to the Court is, in each case of difference, “*facultative*” or “obligatory.”

Again, the term “obligatory,” as used in Article 19, does not mean that the Powers signing such Treaties as are there contemplated become amenable to some obligation, compulsion or coercion, enforced by the other Powers; that has been never mentioned, or even dreamt of by the advocates of coercion, who cannot get away from the employment of physical force. *It refers solely to the obligation they create for themselves by the new Treaty entered into.* In the first place, if “obligatory” meant anything of the kind, no Government would accept the position involved, for that would be to sacrifice freedom. And, in the second place, international jurists, and advocates of Peace generally, could not support such a proposal. That would be to give us the old system under a new guise, only labelled “Law” and “Peace.” It would soon result in the evils and conflicts of the old system; in a very little while armies would be necessary to *compel* the submission of the recalcitrant, and the sacred cause of Peace and International Order would be perverted into the occasion of new wars of which it, in time, would become the fruitful mother.

There is great danger lest the use of the term "obligatory," by suggesting some means of compelling an appeal to Arbitration, which does not now exist, may result in the formation of too low an estimate of the value and validity of The Hague Convention. This can be avoided only by a clear understanding of the terms used, and the ends sought.

HOW IT WOULD WORK.

THE proposal is, that general Treaties of Arbitration, on the model of the Anglo-American of 1897, and the Italo-Argentine of 1898, which were signed but not ratified, should be entered into by every two Powers, beginning say with Great Britain and the United States of America, Great Britain and France, and so on. I say nothing of the value of these documents. They may, as Lord Alverstone has affirmed of the former Treaty, embody more of the principles on which a general Treaty of Arbitration might proceed than any other State paper which has ever been published. That is not the point at issue. Either of them might "still be the starting-point," as he expressed it, if the starting had not already taken place. But what would follow the proposal now made?

This would follow. Each treaty as it was formed—that between Great Britain and the United States, to wit—would withdraw from the cognisance of, and from all connection with, the Permanent Court at the Hague, the whole of the difficulties which may in future arise between the two Powers forming the treaty. They would have their own Tribunals, or sets of Tribunals, provided for by the Treaty. This would happen in the case of each new treaty.

The consequence would be that the Permanent Court would be more and more superseded, until in time, short or long, according to the success or otherwise of the movement, there would be no constituency left, and the Court would become non-existent. We should then have Permanent Arbitration, it is true, but the present world-wide combination of States for the purpose of Arbitration would be dissolved. Such a suicidal course was never contemplated by Article 19 of the Hague Convention, its provisions were too wisely framed for that. The Treaties it contemplates are those between States,

binding them to submit all differences, except any specially designated, as they arise, to the Permanent Tribunal, and no other, except in special cases. This is specifically provided in Article 21. The more the Hague Convention is studied the more one is struck by its practical, diplomatic common-sense and wise arrangements.

The new policy succeeds, let us suppose, absolutely and to the fullest extent. What then? We shall have a number of dual combinations; at least twenty-four general treaties, and possibly more (in point of fact, the actual numerical combinations amount to two hundred and seventy-six), and, as in the Anglo-American Treaty, which is the accepted model, three tribunals are provided for, at least thrice twenty-four (or even three times two hundred and seventy-six, or eight hundred and twenty-eight), tribunals, instead of one treaty and one tribunal, as at present. But what, then, becomes of the gain to International Law, and what of the "juridical status" between nations? What real increase of the juridical system would it involve? When this object were reached—if ever it were, which is most unlikely—we should be still as far as ever from our goal.

It would be necessary, then, to begin a fresh agitation for the combination of all the groups so formed, before a really universal International system should be established. "The federation of the world, the parliament of man," would be relegated to the dim and misty distance of a future made more remote by the failure of the present defeated attempt. To-day they are accomplished facts in the Hague Agreement, and its Permanent Court. The main thing is to make these vital and effective, and to do everything in our power to defeat the conspiracy of the Governments which are anxious to preserve their power and prerogatives, if, as affirmed by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, it really exists. By all means urge the formation of treaties for "obligatory" Arbitration, as provided for in Article 19 of The Hague Convention, or even the formation of any other treaties, the object of which is to make the Permanent Tribunal effective or to extend its scope and efficiency. But let us also remember that the success of any project which renders The Hague

Convention abortive will leave us with all the work of forming an international juridical system to do over again, even though for the moment it may seem to advance the cause of Arbitration, which the advocates of Peace have so closely and constantly at heart.

NOTES ON PUBLICATIONS.

“THE ARMENIAN QUESTION”:—The Report of Mr. H. Arakélian, referred to in the Report of Commission A, page 44, has been separately printed and published, as follows:—“Xme Congrès Universel de la Paix—A. Actualités—La Question Arménienne au point de vue de la Paix Universelle. Genève: Imprimerie Romet, 26, Boulevard de Plain-palais.”

“‘PERMANENT ARBITRATION’ IN MODERN INTERNATIONAL LAW”:—A paper read at the Conference of the International Law Association in Glasgow, by W. Evans Darby, LL.D. Published by the Peace Society, 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

“HOW TO INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT”:—A paper by M. J. Novicow, Odessa. Printed in French and English by the Committee of Organisation, and published at the Office of the Congress, 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

“LES CAUSES ECONOMIQUES DES GUERRES MODERNES”:—A paper presented to the Congress on behalf of the “Association de la Paix par le Droit” by M. J. Prudhommeaux, Secretary, and referred to Commission C. Published by E. Nicolas, Imprimeur-Editeur, Lyon.”

“THE HAGUE CONFERENCE OF PEACE”:—A pamphlet giving the text of The Hague Conventions, and the Rules of War. Presented to the Congress by W. T. Stead. Published at Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.

Also “L’UNION INTERNATIONALE.” Published at 252, Rue de Rivoli, Paris.

"THE WORK OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES":—How to widen their programme. Presented to the Congress by M. Jean de Bloch. Printed at the *Observer* Works, Chatham.

Copies of these papers were presented to the members of the Congress, and with a number of other publications, exposed for distribution or sale at a stall in the entrance, presided over by Mr. J. McNaughton.

TRANSLATOR:—

The Translations in the Congress were admirably made by Mr. Adolphe Smith, of London, whose office was by no means a sinecure.

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